42
October 1988

NEW TIMES

SOVIET WEEKLY
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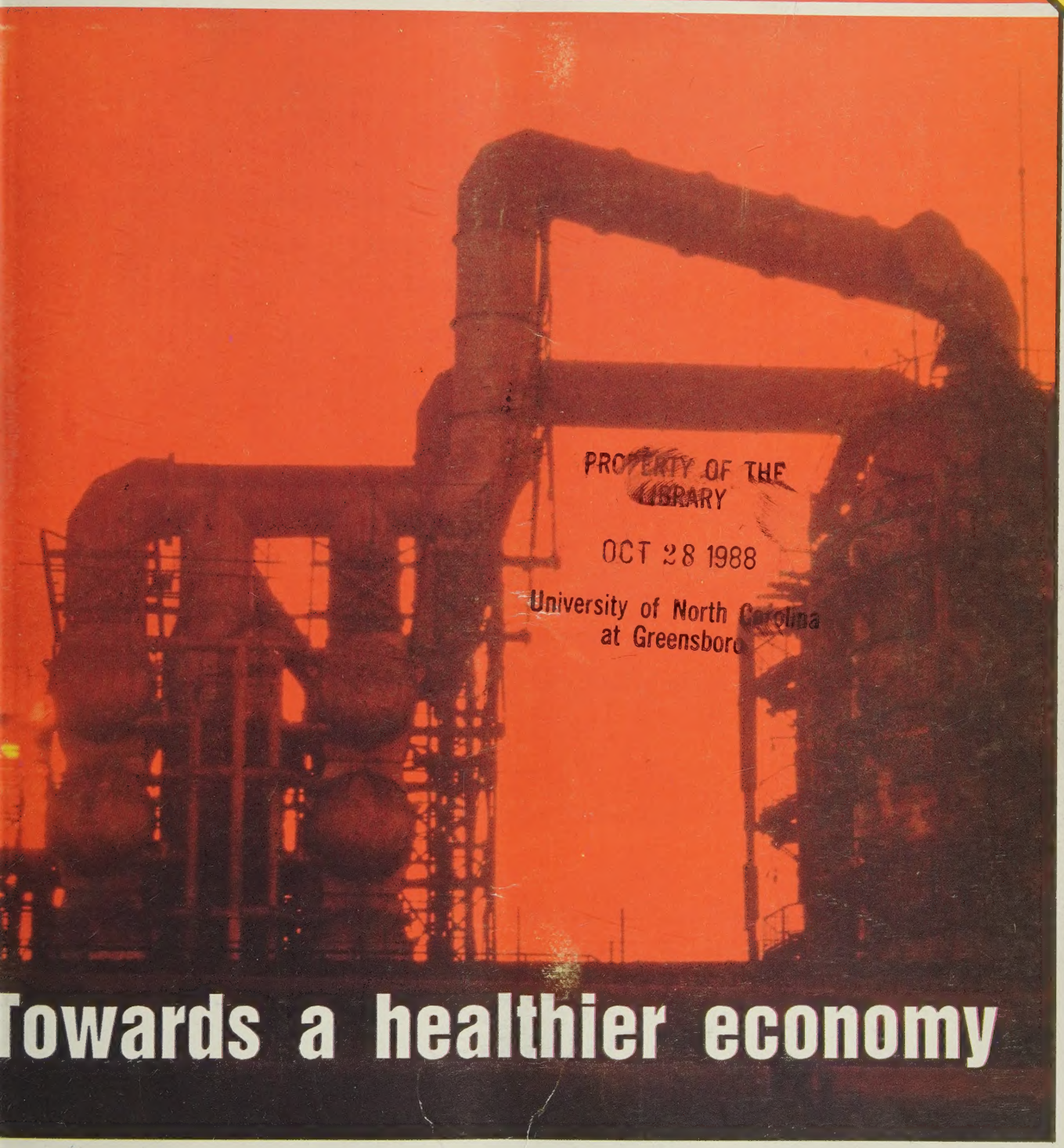

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NEW TIMES

No. 42, October 1988

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A MISSION OF MERCY

American Vietnam war veterans and Soviet soldiers, who have gone through the ordeals of the Afghanistan war, meet in Moscow.

(See p. 21)

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Cover by Vladimir Pchelkin

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OPINIONS

Vasily Zateishchikov
Babayevo, Vologda Region, U.S.S.R.

■ Watching the development of our relations with the United States today, I recall the war, when a genuinely friendly feeling had evolved between our two peoples. It is gratifying that this feeling is now being revived.

Few people now remember that during the war Flying Fortresses were based on Soviet territory – at the airfields near Poltava and Piryatin and, if I remember rightly, near Mirgorod. American pilots made shuttle flights, taking off near Poltava, bombing military targets in nazi Germany, and landing in Britain where they refuelled before flying back. I think that was a very substantial aid from an allied state.

As an aircraft mechanic, I servised Flying Fortresses and had an opportunity to see how the Americans behaved. They turned out to be ordinary fellows who liked a good joke and a smile. They always joined us in singing the popular song "Katyusha," and we sang their American songs with them. What happened then was strange to me.

I am sure that the Americans will never start a war against us. I personally cannot imagine them as enemies. We have done the right thing in beginning to scrap missiles.

George Newman
Tucson, U.S.A.

■ Important as is caring for our sick and elderly, and helping our illiterates, there is a national-interest aspect to national service that goes beyond states or communities meeting primarily local needs. I propose a citizens' diplomatic corps which, if properly funded, would promote people-to-people contact and further the goal of peace through understanding.

In such a corps not just Soviet and American young people but retirees also would live and work together in work-camp settings on joint projects to help alleviate housing, health, educational and other problems. There is an urgent need for sheltering our homeless as well as for meeting the critical housing needs of many Russians.

When Ivan, Jane, Svetlana and John work, live and talk together, we not only help dispel enemy images, but also help create that climate of mutual trust that will enable American and Soviet leaders to seek and find common agreement.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

A. Rakhmatullin
Tatar autonomous republic, U.S.S.R.

■ I was prompted to write to you by V. Lukashev's letter published in your issue No. 29, 1988. In the past 70 years, he notes, our country and Party have been fighting against religion. And now all of a sudden everything has changed. I think he is not quite right. Certainly, there has been a struggle against religion. It should be conducted today too, but carefully and tactfully.

A review of our anti-religious work in the past brings us to very sad conclusions. How many excesses were committed! Unjustified bans and persecutions, and the destruction of churches, which were monuments of architecture. Could believers be made to renounce their faith by such methods?

I recall one episode from the atheist "activity" in our district. It happened in the 1960s. On some religious holiday believers, mainly elderly women, were moving towards the church, the only one within a radius of many kilometres. Can you imagine what anti-religious "measure" was undertaken? Public order volunteers and district militiamen were assembled (on orders from above) and told to surround the church and block the way to it. What did people think of this lawless act?

During my half-century-long life I have never heard a single bad word about our state from believers. Aren't churchmen fighting for peace? I back the policy now being pursued by the Party: believers are fully-fledged citizens of our country. Whether a man or a woman turns to religion or not depends on the force of his or her conviction, not on bans or compulsion.

H.A. Thonny
Namibia

■ In your issue No. 33, 1988, I read Mikhail Khrobostov's article "The hard road to a settlement" about my country and people and their struggle for national independence, freedom and justice. For over 20 years now Namibia has formally been under U.N. administration. But in spite of the important resolutions passed by the international community, the struggle of my people has been ruthlessly suppressed by the racist regime in Pretoria, with the help of its Western allies. The author of the article was right in drawing world attention to this fact. I ask the magazine to carry on the theme. Perhaps you'll be able to make world opinion more concerned about our fate.

L. Zharov,
candidate of science (medicine and philosophy)
Rostov-on-Don, U.S.S.R.

■ I can't fully agree with Vladimir Dudintsev's reasoning in his article "The line of beauty" (issue 38/88). I don't believe we now need leaders who reject material values and crave for good and beauty in their abstract form. Even Christianity combines material and spiritual values into a single whole. "It is necessary to revive the objective moral laws that govern each of us, and firmly establish them in our society," Dudintsev writes with good reason. But why give up material values? I think this is a purely idealistic approach to the problem.

It is not a question of the desire to get an extra slice of bread. It is necessary to ascertain first who needs a slice of bread and how large, and what all of us should do to help people finally get it. For some reason Dudintsev believes that intellectuality should run counter to the material, to the detriment of the material. This position does not seem quite right to me. After all, man should first of all be fed.

Yevdokim Solenkov
Sofia, Bulgaria

■ Thank you for publishing my previous letter (issue 22/88). I would like to continue the "Stalin theme" on the Glasnost pages. Not long ago Anatoly Rybakov's book "Children of the Arbat" appeared in Bulgaria. It was sold out in days. I was not able to buy it, but I read excerpts from the novel in the newspaper Studentska Tribuna.

GLASNOST

I was honestly impressed by the depth of analysis of Stalin's personality and his time, though "Children of the Arbat" is fiction, not a documentary. The book has evoked great interest in Bulgaria. This is so, I think, because our people knew only good things about Stalin, though 35 years had passed since his death. Of course, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria have developed in different historic conditions, but nevertheless...

Nikolai Neznayev,
artistic designer,
Perm, U.S.S.R.

■ I warmly support the proposal to erect a monument to Soviet soldiers who have fulfilled their internationalist duty. They undoubtedly deserve it. I suggest that newspapers and magazines, including New Times, begin to discuss projects for such a memorial. I would like to take part in the discussion.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

A. Karpus
Ryazan, U.S.S.R.

■ I think your magazine is quite right to ask readers to answer the questions "Who is to blame? What's to be done?" (issue 33/88) on the basis of their own experience. I doubt whether I can answer these questions. I would prefer to put one more question in the hope that readers will express their opinion on it.

I have been working in the health service for 19 years. In addition to my basic job as a doctor, I disseminate both medical and political knowledge. This year I have conducted talks on politics, advocating the ideas of democracy and perestroika. Everyone agreed with me and there was complete mutual understanding, until someone in our outpatient clinic came out with the idea of organizing a cooperative to give consultations and medical aid.

The idea of forming a cooperative in which, as Prof. Fyodorov believes, my colleagues could learn "what they are worth," has divided the staff of the clinic into two groups: one for, and the other against. The majority of doctors and nurses did not back the project. "Though we have a hard life and our salaries are not high," they argued, "we shall continue to work as before, expecting aid from the state. We cannot treat patients for money, making a profit from their suffering."

As a specialist, I am in favour of a cooperative, and as a propagandist, I am against it. But I have not made up my mind finally. Perhaps readers can help me.

Y. Yankin
Khabarovsk, U.S.S.R.

■ In the last few years the media have been giving a more objective coverage of events in the West, rather than just criticizing them. Readers want to form their own opinions by learning different points of view. I think therefore that it's high time periodicals and books published in the West were made accessible to everyone.

Igor Vybornov
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ Reforms have been under way in Hungary for the past five years. But I learned recently that one per cent of its population are out of work and that the jobless figure continues to grow. I am afraid that our reforms may also lead to the same result. I wonder what Soviet economists think about this.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by Igor Smirnov

GLASNOST

CORRESPONDENCE

Roberto Prieto
Madrid, Spain

■ Having received your issue No. 39 in Spanish, I discovered that it contains 48 pages. At last!

I studied Russian in the Soviet Union and can therefore read your weekly both in Russian and Spanish. It should be said that the Spanish-language edition of New Times did not compare with the Russian edition because it was shorter. Though the Spanish-language edition carried the most interesting articles, a lot of other material could not be published. To continue in this way would have been unforgivable, as interest in your country is growing. But it's all right now. My congratulations!

FROM THE EDITORS: We thank Roberto Prieto for his congratulations and wish to inform our readers that all foreign-language editions of New Times now appear in 48 pages.

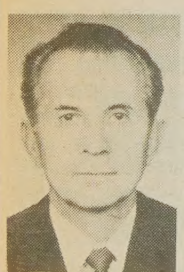
HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

PRIVATE OPINION

PETER S. MMUSI,
Vice-President of the Republic of Botswana

For me the highlight of the week was my first official visit to your country. We in Botswana are extremely impressed with the Soviet peace initiatives to reduce armaments and settle regional conflicts. The Soviet experience in coping with many issues of economic advancement is of definite interest for us. We attach great significance to the furtherance and consolidation of our ties of friendship with you, which will undoubtedly be facilitated by the agreement on economic and technological cooperation that has been signed in Moscow. We welcome your investment in our economy, as well as the building of a vocational school in Botswana.

For Botswana, located on Africa's southern tip, the crucial issue is that of resolving the conflict in the region. The South African government is unwilling to terminate its racial segregation, which the international community has condemned. The transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority should on no account alarm our white compatriots. They do not have to go in fear of their life or property. Africans have no intention of retaliating against their erstwhile oppressors. Take Zimbabwe. Ian Smith, who once headed the Salisbury regime and who, it must be confessed, has countless crimes on his conscience, is living quietly in independent Zimbabwe, where he owns a farm and enjoys all the rights and freedoms of the citizen there. Our goal is to set up a democratic independent state where whites and blacks alike can live in peace, friendship and accord.



ION BUKUR,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the U.S.S.R.

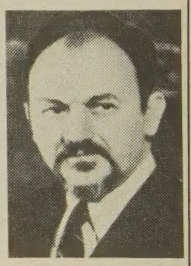
The recent official friendly visit to the U.S.S.R. by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and his wife comrade Elena Ceausescu, represents a new plateau in the development of Romanian-Soviet relations. The talks conducted and the accords reached strikingly demonstrate the mutual desire to raise our cooperation to higher levels in many fields.

Considerable attention was paid to the present state of and prospects for economic, scientific and technological links. The need to intensify efforts to implement the bilateral long-term programme for economic, scientific and technological cooperation over the period up to the year 2000 was reaffirmed, as was the reciprocal desire to enhance the role of cooperation in meeting the requirements of the two countries on a mutually advantageous basis, as regards energy, raw materials, fuel, sophisticated machinery and equipment, consumer commodities and foodstuffs. The need to increase specialization and cooperation in production was likewise emphasized.

It was noted during the talks that Romania and the Soviet Union attach great importance to improved cooperation within the framework of the CMEA, in order to promote national economies and popular welfare in the CMEA countries.

Proceeding from the definitive role of the links between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the overall context of bilateral relations, the two sides have agreed to expand contacts in this area, as well as links between the parliaments and the mass and public organizations of the two countries.

Views were exchanged on international issues. Romania and the Soviet Union advocate greater pooling of efforts by all countries to avert the threat of war, end the arms race, eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and strengthen peace and international cooperation.



ANKER JOERGENSEN,
Danish M.P. and chairman of the committee of North European parliamentarians for a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe

In view of the accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their increased impact, there is no reason to think that only the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. should work for nuclear disarmament. The countries of Northern Europe can also contribute to détente, and for this reason we set up our committee three years ago. For the time being our governments have not authorized us to negotiate; nor do we have a political majority in our respective parliaments. On the other hand, the popular majorities in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Iceland back the parties represented on the committee.

Though it is naturally important for us to know what the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. think about it, we seek not simply recognition of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, but also the appropriate guarantees from the two superpowers and from NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This is why we have come to Moscow at the invitation of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. I would like to emphasize that we have been received with understanding in the Soviet Union. My impression is that the Soviet leadership favours the establishment of a North European nuclear-free zone. The U.S.S.R. must proceed with its overall policy and, perhaps, do a bit more in this direction to ensure minimal nuclear weaponry in the Kola Peninsula; indeed, to establish our nuclear-free zone we must know that our neighbours have the smallest conceivable nuclear arsenal.

The dictatorship takes a beating

Though the opposition had campaigned against heavy odds, more than half the ballot papers said "No" to Pinochet. What next?

Our special correspondent **ALEXANDER KARMEN** reports from Santiago

Boundless joy swept Santiago following the opposition victory at the plebiscite on October 5. Of more than 7 million Chileans taking part in the polls, 54.68 per cent said "No" to the intention of the country's president General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte to remain in his post until 1997. Having recovered their faith in their own strength, the people went out to celebrate "their day."

From early morning on October 6, thousands of people filled the streets and squares of the capital. Proud of what they had achieved, giving free rein to tears of joy, they embraced, linked hands in the symbolic chains of unity and brotherhood, danced, leapt, chanted: "Now he (Pinochet) is down!", "Chile has been and will be a free country!", and all to the accompaniment of horns of cars and buses. They sang the song "No," which had become the anthem of the opposition during the run-up to the voting. "Chile, joy is not long to wait... Let us say 'No' for the sake of life and peace"...

They had said "No" and were now celebrating their victory.

To tell the truth, having known the Chile of Salvador Allende, I experienced deep feelings as I watched the eruption of the people's triumph. They say a journalist should not give way to emotion but remain an impassive chronicler. But how could one remain impassive in the tumultuous streets of Santiago? I was choked with reminiscences, analogies, associations, and what joy I felt during these stirring hours!

Recollections

I recalled Santiago National Stadium, which seats 100,000, filled with people celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party; the rally of the Popular Unity coalition in Quinta Vergara Park in Valparaiso; the powerful student demonstration in Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue near the skyscraper given to the country's young people as a gift by Comrade President Allende then named after Gabriela Mistral, the prominent Chilean poetess... It was as if the fifteen years of dictatorship and the concentration camp in that same stadium had never been, the monstrous repressions in Valparaiso had never happened, and the skyscraper had not been renamed and turned into the junta's headquarters.

But yes, these horrible years have been a reality and have swept over Chile in a devastating war against the people that left tens of thousands of dead, tortured and missing. Recently the newspaper Fortin Mapocho published a list of some 1,300 names of people who fell victim to the dictatorship. The list begins with the name of Salvador Allende and ends with that of José Toha Gonsalez, the Interior Minister in the Popular Unity government. These are the well-known victims, and the list takes no account of the hidden or nameless graves scattered all over Chilean soil. German Molina, National Secretary of the Chilean Human Rights Commission, holds that the number of people killed over the past 15 years comes to somewhere round 15,500 people, while that of the disappeared to over 2,200.

A whole generation of Chileans has grown up since the military coup. Attempts have been made to compel those who are now 15-20 years of age to forget the bloody September of 1973, accept "the new order" and believe the stories told by "uncle Pinocho," who says he has saved the country from disaster. But all these attempts have been useless.

Fredy Palma Coronado was 15 when on the night of August 31 he went out to join a demonstration of protest against Pinochet's self-proclamation as presidential candidate. Fredy will never know about the triumph of his like-minded associates, because during the demonstration he was killed by supporters of the

---

Alexander Karmen is a Novosti Press Agency correspondent in Latin America. This article is written specially for New Times.

dictator. Today he could be one of the thousands of young people who filled Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue, the young people who so resemble their counterparts of the 1970s.

The meeting of the "No" champions in PanAmerican Highway. The authorities did not allow any of the central squares to be used for this purpose. The "No" supporters gathered here in the working-class community of San Miguel. Almost a million people turned out, filling the spaces on either side of the stage as far as the eye could see. Music, impassioned speeches, the vocal group Inti-Illimani performing the song "Popular Unity." Had they, the experienced bards of the Chilean resistance, ever had the opportunity to perform before a huge audience like that? As evidenced by the veterans, it was the most massive demonstration Chile had ever seen. "The united people will never be defeated!" sang the performers supported by a chorus of a million, a million and a half clenched fists rose into the air, and I felt deeply moved, aware that I would never be able to remain impassive.

The run-up

Parties of the most widely differing political complexion united during the campaign in support of the "No" movement. They united to attain their common goal – to defeat the official candidate personifying the military dictatorship and everything that had been associated with it for the past 15 years, and to restore democracy.

The bloc of 16 political parties, which formed the so-called Social Accord for "No," became the main coordinating centre to work among the population to ensure their vote against Pinochet. Simultaneously the "No" support campaign was launched by the coalition of the left-wing parties known as the United Left, and which also includes the Communist Party.

They campaigned against heavy odds. The "Yes" supporters were backed by the powerful government propaganda machine and the major mass media, including television. The public came under massive attacks bolstered by funds and psychological indoctrination. The main trump card of the "Yes" adherents was frenzied anti-communism. They accused their opponents of having sold themselves to the Marxists and turned traitors to their country, intending to establish "a totalitarian Marxist dictatorship" in Chile. Along with this they planted the idea that the conglomeration of 16 parties could never come up with anything stable, reliable or long-term.

Another trump card related to the economy. Victory to the "No" movement, they warned the population, would result in the closure of enterprises, the draining of capital, unemployment and shortages of foodstuffs and essential goods. "Do you really believe that anyone (if the "No" movement were to win – **A.K.**) will invest a single peso in Chile?" asked the country's largest newspaper El Mercurio, and immediately answered: "No one."

1973. The tyranny begins.

From the L'Humanité-Dimanche weekly (France)

From September 7, the contending forces were given 15 minutes each on television to publisize their views. For the opponents of Pinochet, it was indeed a drop in the ocean of lies and slander that had been bombarding TV screens for almost the whole 15 years. Yet, said Patricio Aylwin, coordinator of the campaign for "No" movement and Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, when he spoke at an opposition meeting, these 15 minutes had been enough to shake the military regime. Now that the results of the plebiscite are known, Aylwin's words sound prophetic.

"Economic miracle": result and price

Those loyal to Pinochet had one more economic trump card.

For many years, in exposing the junta's crimes and accusing it of systematic violations of human rights, we paid very little or no attention to the results of its economic policy. We denounced its blind imitation of "the Chicago model" of development based on the principles of free trade, "open door" policy and full guarantees for foreign capital. Yet, at the same time we attached less importance to the fact that this policy had attracted billions of dollars to the country, which could not but pay off. It resulted in the construction of new plants and factories, developing new deposits of mineral resources and the growth of export-geared industries.

Some crumbs from the "master's table" also began to fall to the share of working people, particularly supporters of the regime.

Chile won first place in the world in extracting and exporting copper, and from a mono-exporting country it turned into a nation exporting more than 1,300 brands of foodstuffs and goods.

Chile leads the world in the production of fish flour and is Latin America's biggest exporter of fruit and grapes. Last year it produced a record amount of grain. The level of inflation in Chile is the lowest on the continent and foreign debts are regularly paid.

It goes without saying that all this has been achieved to a large extent at the cost of brutal exploitation of the working people. For example, wages were contained at a low level due to a vast by Chilean standards army of the unemployed (the democratic trade unions, which could have defended working people's interests, were disbanded in 1973). A considerable part of the nation's wealth – mines, many enterprises and banks, land – found its way into the hands of transnational corporations. But the authorities

are not worried by this, as they maintain that the objective of economic revival justifies any concessions to foreign capital.

The economic trumps, in conjunction with the scare campaign about a return to chaos and economic depression, were made active use of by the "Yes" proponents in the run-up to the plebiscite.

Voting day

The entire armed forces and police were enlisted to maintain public order on polling day (Pinochet, sure of victory, did not want his triumph to be marred by "incidents"). In Santiago alone, 25,000 soldiers and carabineers (the gendarmerie) patrolled the streets. No street or crossroads was without a patrol, an army jeep or a bus with carabineers. Even tankettes stood in some places. But the preplebiscite tension, caused by the attacks on the opposition from the press and television, constant threats from the authorities, several explosions on power transmission lines that left half the country in darkness, rumours about alleged preparations to disrupt the plebiscite, etc., eased on October 5 with the first rays of the sun. The polls were taking place in conditions of unprecedented organization, discipline and order. Chileans were aware that the fate of the country was in their hands.

What did they think as they approached the ballot box? The two interviews I took reflect the prevailing sentiments in the long queues lined up at the approaches to the polling stations.

An elderly man had just dropped his ballot card into the same box as Pinochet himself had done half an hour before. He refused to identify himself, asking me to call him "a rank-and-file Chilean concerned about the future of his country."

"I voted for Pinochet, though, I confess, personally I don't like him. I have never agreed with his policy of repression. But Pinochet is the symbol of what our country has now become. Thanks to him, Chile has lifted out of the crisis, and peace, discipline and order reign in the country. He is also a guarantor of continuing successes. To refuse him a mandate for the immediate future would mean to interrupt the process of Chilean restoration."

I took the second interview from a young woman queuing at a polling station near the National Stadium. Her name is Graciela Gomez. She is an office worker, married, with a child.

"I have never had any doubt about how I should vote. In September 1973 my elder brother was a prisoner in this stadium. My friend's father disappeared. I know many families whose members have undergone torture or even died. I do not believe that the man who yesterday gave the order to kill will tomorrow take off his uniform and become a father to all. I do not believe him because the well-being he promises us and the jails, well-being and suffering are incompatible. There are thousands, indeed millions of people who do not know how to feed their children. They will say 'No,' and so will I."

The junta, the government and the candidate himself recognized the outcome of the plebiscite, though it took them unawares. For two hours after midnight at the emergency meeting in La Moneda Palace, suspending the vote count, the regime's leaders discussed the issue. But they could no longer help but recognize the majority of votes against them, as the opposition's lead was too obvious.

1988. Preparations for the plebiscite took place in an atmosphere of repression.

TASS photo

Election rigging was ruled out too since the opposition had carried out its own tally parallel with the official one.

Winning a battle is not winning a war

People say there is a great difference between the general in victory and the general in defeat. Many are now demanding the immediate resignation of Pinochet. He is refusing and promising to complete the implementation of "full democratization of the country" in accordance with "the schedule" set by the Constitution. According to this plan, a presidential election is to be held in December 1989, and in March 1990 the general will have to step down in favour of the new popularly elected president, disband the military junta (there could be a variant, incidentally, in which Pinochet will nominate himself presidential candidate at the 1989 presidential election). On leaving La Moneda, Pinochet may still remain commander-in-chief of the armed forces, a member of the National Security Council and, what is more, he may, together with other members of the junta, become a life senator. That is, staying behind the scenes, he will be a sort of a supervisor of the legislative and executive powers. It is no accident therefore that the winners are raising the question of negotiating with the armed forces on a change in the Constitution, shortening the transition period, limiting the power of the country's present "masters," and revising the provision whereby Pinochet reserves the right to appoint a third of the senate. In his address to the nation on October 6, the general flatly rejected all the opposition's demands.

So, the majority of Chileans have voted against Pinochet. The thousands of demonstrators who filled Santiago's streets demanded his immediate resignation. During these hours they seemed to be the voice of the whole nation. But there is another Chile, almost of the same number, the Chile that supported its "saviour." Recovering from the shock, the dictator's supporters are beginning a counteroffensive. They have already scheduled meetings and demonstrations, the carabineers have toughened their actions against the opposition, and the new victims of fascist gangsters have already fallen.

Where will this confrontation lead? ■

A gateway to the East

Vladivostok an open city? This question was often put to city fathers and leaders of the Maritime Territory by foreign participants in the international meeting, "Asian-Pacific region: dialogue, peace, cooperation," held in Vladivostok early this month.

Vladivostok is not yet completely open, they were told. But we have come here, we have been let in, journalists insistently asked at press conferences. We are glad to welcome you. Vladivostok is on the way to becoming a city open to all foreigners, came the diplomatic reply. Let us hope it will happen soon, because Vladivostok is destined to become the main gate to the Asian-Pacific region for the establishment of broad ties with its countries and peoples.

Shortly before the international meeting in Vladivostok, the Maritime Territory ceased to be a closed border zone and, along with other Soviet citizens, I did not have to apply to the militia for a permit to go there.

As far as I know, foreign participants in the meeting did not experience any inconveniences, and no restrictions were imposed on them. They were allowed to photograph everything, even warships in the port (a strict taboo only recently). In the intervals between sittings, many of them used this opportunity, taking pictures by which to remember their stay in the city.

Our foreign guests had arrived in Vladivostok to find, by joint efforts, mutually acceptable ways of ensuring peace and security and expanding all-round cooperation in the vast and densely populated Asian and Pacific region. Politicians, businessmen and academics from 36 countries met for three days in the Palace of Knowledge. This was not fortuitous. The countries of the Asian-Pacific region (APR) are represented on the same trilateral basis in the most authoritative regional organization – the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC).

The Soviet Union or, more exactly, its National Committee for Asian-Pacific Cooperation composed on the same principle, has not yet been admitted as a fully-fledged member of PECC, though our representatives are already working in some of its groups.

The initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok and later in Krasnoyarsk, have become a subject of lively debate in three sections: on political and military problems, economic development and regional cooperation, and culture and the media.

Different, sometimes diametrically opposite views were expressed, especially on military strategic issues. This is not surprising, as the situation in the region is not yet calm, armed conflicts continue, seats of tension exist, and foreign interference in these conflicts has not been brought to an end. The purpose of the Vladivostok meeting was to carry out a profound analysis of the situation, compare the positions and arguments of the partners and understand them better, find points of contact and identify issues on which the divergence of opinion is still great.

The most heated argument on fairly concrete issues developed in the economic section, which had lively discussions of questions relating to the inclusion in the Pacific division of labour of the Soviet Far East, a vast area rich in natural resources, but with a relatively sparse population and an inadequately developed industry. Economists and businessmen from neighbouring industrial countries showed keen interest in the "preferential regime" that is now being worked out to give an impulse to the foreign economic ties of our eastern regions, and inquired when this regime is to be introduced.

Are meetings of this kind useful? The answer is probably yes, for otherwise the foreign participants would not be urging the Soviet sponsors to hold them on a regular basis, say, once every two years, and, to be sure, in Vladivostok, a city open to all winds and trends, a city in which the Soviet programme of peace and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region was proclaimed two years ago.

Our special correspondent Alexander Usvatov talks with participants in the Vladivostok forum

Imron Rosyadi,
Chairman of the Indonesian Parliament's Committee of Foreign Relations, Defence, Security and Information

We are seeing with our own eyes how Soviet policy is changing. In the past, the Soviet Union was a closed state. Today you are opening its doors and want to see the world as it really is. You are seeking interaction with everyone, including countries in the Asian-Pacific region. This is a very good, very reasonable policy, which you call new political thinking. No one will fear you if you pursue such a policy. In fact, we in Indonesia have never been conscious of what the West called the "Soviet threat."

The Vladivostok meeting amply demonstrates the Soviet Union's new, broad-minded and unprejudiced approach to Asian and Pacific affairs and problems. It is important not simply to talk with each other or even together, but to consolidate what has been done at this meeting and draw up a programme for broad cooperation to achieve common goals. No matter

how much we can differ, these goals are clear: peace, security and economic development. I think it is still too early to convene a meeting of foreign ministers of the region.

Mutual understanding for such a meeting can be built up, in my opinion, by non-government organizations, public and scientific ties, human contacts and, of course, by more extensive and mutually advantageous trade and economic ties.

Unfortunately, Indonesian-Soviet trade is not yet sufficiently active, though the Soviet Union needs some of Indonesia's raw materials, and our country could buy Soviet machines and other equipment of various types. The barter method complicated trade. Commercial ties develop much more easily when monetary forms of settlement are applied. As far as I know, the Soviet Union has now adopted the same view. This is opening up more favourable prospects for trade between our countries.

With regard to the concept of security, Indonesia and all other countries in ASEAN favour the conversion of South-East Asia into a nuclear-free zone. This idea is backed by the Soviet Union but unfortunately has not yet found support in the United States. I hope the United States too will soon appreciate its advantages.

Thanat Khoman,
Rector of the Asian Technological Institute, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand

I regard the Vladivostok meeting as an initial but major step in the discussion of a wide range of problems of concern to the Asian and Pacific nations. It reflected the Soviet Union's new approach to the region and its desire to strengthen peace and security and expand business cooperation there. And this can only be welcomed.

This policy was proclaimed two years ago in Vladivostok by Mikhail Gorbachev, who recently elaborated it in his Krasnoyarsk speech. A number of the initiatives put forward by Gorbachev are interesting, for instance, a very bold proposal for reciprocal dismantling of miliary bases and proposals aimed at preventing incidents at sea and reducing friction between the military fleets of great powers.

I know the Soviet Union is helping to settle a conflict near my country, namely the Kampuchean conflict. There was an impression that some progress had been made in this direction but, to our great regret, concrete results are not yet in evidence.

It has become quite clear that the Soviet Union is actively trying to participate in Pacific life, the general system of economic ties, and to cooperate with big and small states in the region. For this purpose its potentially rich Far East should be energetically developed. In the economic section, of which I was chairman, Soviet and foreign specialists had businesslike discussions on how to achieve this most effectively and to establish mutual cooperation.

Perceptible progress has recently been made in Thai-Soviet relations. The two countries are actively engaged in political dialogue, and at a high level, and trade and economic ties between them are expanding.

Pu Shan,
President of the Chinese Society of World Economy, People's Republic of China

I visited the Far Eastern regions of the Soviet Union, Khabarovsk in particular, in the 1950s. But I had never been to Vladivostok. The Vladivostok meeting on the problems of the Asian-Pacific region is a very useful initiative.

The Soviet proposals concerning the Asian-Pacific region advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Khrasnoyarsk should be taken seriously. I spoke of this at the meeting. They contain not a few positive elements and should not be dismissed as mere slogans, as some Western delegates have done.

But I would like more emphasis to be laid on the solution of the Kampuchean problem. In our opinion, it is the most urgent problem in the region. I noticed that when he was speaking in Krasnoyarsk Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the Soviet desire to help resolve the Kampuchean conflict as soon as possible. In a sense, points of contact have appeared in the positions of our countries on the Kampuchean question. At previous Sino-Soviet negotiations this subject was bypassed. However, a meeting on this question, at deputy-foreign-minister level, was held recently in Beijing. Our foreign minister is to visit the Soviet Union soon and, as far as I understand, the Kampuchean issue will be high on the agenda of his talks in Moscow. It seems there is some progress on the way towards settling it on a just basis.

But the greatest progress in Sino-Soviet relations is to be observed in the trade and economic sphere. Cultural exchanges have become livelier. The volume of bilateral trade is growing. Activity has especially increased along our common frontier – border trade is expanding and the first joint enterprises have appeared.

In the meantime, political relations are lagging behind. The complete normalization of relations between our countries can be achieved after the settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

A very large percentage of China's foreign economic ties is with the Asian-Pacific region. Our open-door policy has given an impulse to more rapid growth in the Chinese economy. I believe the policy of intensifying our foreign economic relations with Asian and Pacific states can also contribute to the development of the Soviet Far East. As regards the forms to be chosen – this is something to be decided by Soviet politicians and economists. As far as I understand, they particularly favour the establishment of zones of joint enterprise. I can only wish them success in this effort.

Leticia R. Shahani,
Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Philippines

The opening up of Vladivostok to its Pacific neighbours is a vivid manifestation of new Soviet policy in the Asian-Pacific region. It is a long way from Manila to Moscow, whereas Vladivostok and the Far East generally are almost next door. This could greatly help the development of our relations.

In the variety of their conditions and the complexity of their problems, Asia and the Pacific are not comparable with Europe. For this reason I believe that the Helsinki model cannot be applied to the Asian-Pacific region. The Soviet proposal to hold a regional meeting of foreign ministers is not a bad idea. But the implementation of this idea will, I think, require extensive and serious preparation and hence considerable time. Since there are two superpowers in the region, it is very important for smaller countries to see how they behave in it and what they do to bring about a reduction in tension.

We hope that, following the conclusion of the INF treaty by the Soviet Union and the United States, they will be able to reach agreement on a further reduction of nuclear weapons. The Philippines, like other ASEAN states, favours the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South-East Asia. But such a zone is virtually impossible if it is not guaranteed by all the nuclear powers.

The deployment of nuclear weapons in the Philippines is prohibited under our Constitution. The Senate has passed an appropriate law on this basis. The Constitution also provides for there to be no foreign troops in the country after 1991 unless the government decides to replace the treaty on American bases, which will by then have expired, with a new one, which must be ratified by the Senate. The two countries are now holding difficult talks on the future of these bases.

At the Vladivostok meeting I was chairman of a section that discussed political and military problems. The discussion took place in a free and frank atmosphere. The views of participants drew closer on some questions and remained unchanged on others. But no one expected it to be otherwise. Such a meeting would have been impossible five or ten years ago. The holding of the Vladivostok meeting is a good sign. We are grateful for this to the Soviet government and its vigorous policy in the spirit of new thinking.

VLADIVOSTOK

Passions still running high

President Julius Richard Jayawardene of Sri Lanka has said that his half-century-long career in politics will end in January of next year.

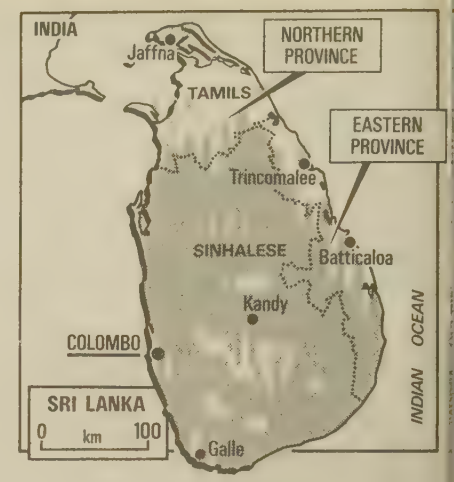
The news came at a session of the ruling United National Party's working committee, where Jayawardene suggested that Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa be named the party's candidate for the presidential elections to be held in line with the Constitution not later than January 3, 1989.

This move by Jayawardene, who has led the nation for almost 11 years, came as a surprise to many. An experienced politician, the President was generally believed to intend to serve a third term in office, even though this would have required a parliamentary amendment to the existing Constitution, which restricts the presidency to no more than two successive terms. The UNP-dominated parliament would have been most cooperative in adopting such an amendment.

Two candidates are now contesting the future presidency: Ranasinghe Premadasa of the ruling UNP, and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, both of them politicians of note. Premadasa, who worked his way up from a trade union activist to the office of Prime Minister, has considerable influence in the UNP, in business quarters and with the Buddhist clergy. He also has to his credit the initiation (June 1984) of a huge five-year housing programme expected to be completed by June of next year.

Premadasa sided with those who opposed the Indo-Sri Lankan accord of July last year on easing ethnic tensions on the island; in recent months, however, he has spoken more than once of the importance of bilateral cultural and historic links.

The other contender for power is widely known: Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka's Prime Minister from 1960 to 1965 and from 1970 to 1977. As leader and nominee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, she has already started to campaign. At election rallies in the country's Southern Province, Bandaranaike criticized the Indo-Sri Lankan accord and the UNP's impotence in dealing with unemployment and mounting prices for essential goods.

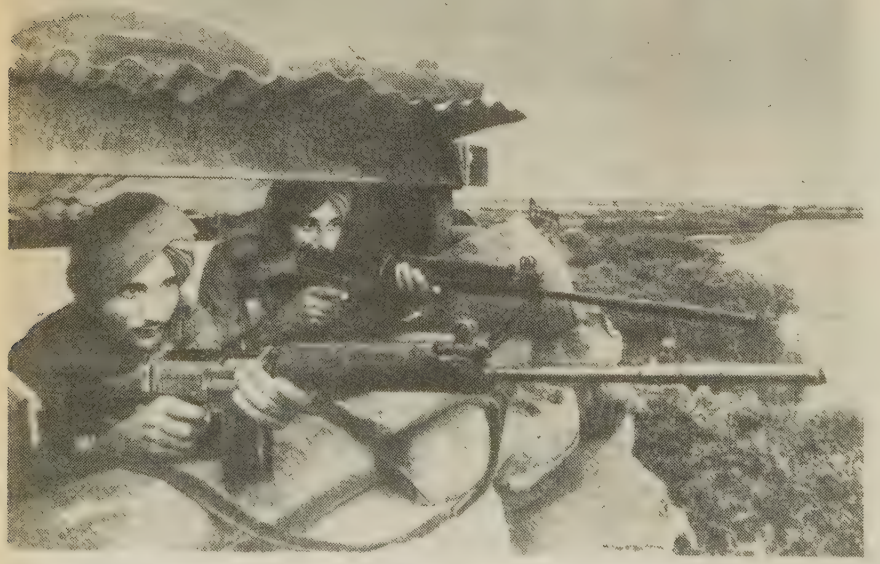


The Premier is likely to face another rival – the nominee of the Allied Socialist Union, a left-wing four-party bloc that includes Communists, but its leadership has not yet decided on its candidate.

In northern and eastern Sri Lanka, people will be going to the polls twice this year. President Jayawardene has recently called local elections in the Northern and Eastern provinces, merged into a temporary administrative unit known as the North-Eastern Province with a predominantly Tamil population. The elections scheduled for mid-November are viewed here as a major move towards Tamil autonomy, an important step in implementing the Indo-Sri Lankan accord and securing peace in this long-suffering land, ravaged by a five-year ethnic conflict.

"Is it possible to hold elections in the north and east of the country? The question is not rhetorical, as reports coming in from these parts are hardly indicative of the long-awaited peace," says the Island daily. Certainly the situation in the northern and eastern parts of the country is still far from normal. The extremist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) are refusing to

IPKF soldiers in Jaffna bunker



The Indian Peace-Keeping Force in Sri Lanka. Its presence here greatly depends on the outcome of the elections in the northeast, but it is uncertain whether these elections will be held.

lay down arms, and their actions are resulting in civilian casualties, including women and children.

The Indian Peace-Keeping Force entered Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka at the President's request after the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord was signed in July of last year, and the IPKF has now been brought up to a strength of 50,000 men. After a series of attacks, the Indians crushed the rebels' main forces with the casualty figure of 430 dead. However, the "tigers" have switched over to guerrilla warfare and their stiff resistance is far from having been overcome.

Tamil Eelam rebels: switching over to guerrilla warfare

Photos from India Today magazine

Not long ago I happened to visit Trincomalee – a port on the island's eastern coast. The city was hosting a farewell ceremony for the departing Indian motorized infantry and artillery units.

"Tamil commandos have not abandoned their hit-and-run raids, inflicting losses on our units," said Colonel Jotinder Singh, "but the situation in Trincomalee is under control." Most of the city's offices, schools and shops are open. However, here and there ruined buildings, burned-out cars, twisted metal, shattered brickwork are to be seen – the legacy of the recent bloody clashes with the "tigers."

Hardships notwithstanding, people are starting to return to their half-ruined homes. Sri Lankan refugees are coming back from southern India, hoping to settle for good, and today the number of returnees exceeds 30,000. A similar situation is reported in Jaffna, formerly a rebel stronghold.

The Indian side is helping ensure peace at the local elections in the North-Eastern Province, where some 1.2 million are expected at the polls. In mid-September, India's Ambassador in Colombo, J.N. Dixit, toured northern areas of Jaffna and Vavuniya to meet the command of the peace-keeping contingent and representatives of the local public. Simultaneously, India introduced a cease-fire, and Dixit called on the LTTE leadership to seize the opportunity offered by the Indian goodwill move and open a dialogue. He specified that India will negotiate only with the "tigers'" leaders whose personal immunity will be guaranteed. After Velupillai Prabhakaran and his entourage had rejected constructive initiatives from Delhi, the Indians resumed action It was also their task to provide security in the province until the elections there are over. Two Tamil groups – the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization and the Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of Tamil Eelam – will take part in the elections, together with the UNP and the Allied Socialist Union.

The "tigers", however, declared that they will boycott the elections. Moreover, they pledged to subvert them and threatened to liquidate anyone who takes part in the election campaign – candidates and members of electoral commissions alike. The rebels are reported to have begun carrying their threats out. This calls local elections into question.

In recent weeks the Western and Southern provinces of Sri Lanka have witnessed increased activity on the part of Janata Vimukti Paramuna (JVP), an extremist Singhalese group fomenting anti-Indian and anti-Tamil sentiments.

"The accord betrayed the interests of the Singhalese majority," "The government wants to let Indian troops into the South," claim the chauvinists' leaflets. Gunning down representatives supporters of the UNP and left-wing forces has become the everyday practice of the JVP. The group is fairly influential with young people, the middle class and the Buddhist clergy. This was confirmed once again on September 12, when the JVP called for a one-day strike in western, central and southern Sri Lanka. All shops, small businesses and hospitals were closed in Colombo, private bus services stopped, and the life of the city paralyzed. At noon Sri Lanka radio broadcast a special address by the government urging that trade and public transport be resumed, but few complied.

"The day before the strike, shop-owners in the neighbourhood, myself included, received a notice ordering us to cease business as from the next day. What could we do? They've got guns and bombs and they won't stop at anything," says Nimal Perera, a small tradesman. "I'm not a supporter of the JVP, so I'd better watch out..."

Today Sri Lanka awaits the elections hoping for an end to the bloodshed and the restoration of peace.

Sergei Spitsyn

TASS correspondent,
exclusive for New Times
COLOMBO

From "Eurosclerosis" to "Eurorenaissance"?

Why the EEC is in such a hurry to create an "integrated European market"

"This year," the United States' magazine Newsweek wrote recently, not without malicious glee, "while the U.S. growth rate is expected to ease to 2.5 per cent and Japan's is likely to hover near 3.5 per cent, West European growth will drop to an anaemic 1.75 per cent. A recession in Europe may be on the cards in 1989."

It has taken the European Economic Community quite some time to attain this "level of achievement." Whereas from 1950 to 1972 the EEC countries' gross domestic product grew at an annual rate of nearly 5 per cent, from 1973 to 1979, between the two oil crises, it diminished to 2.4 per cent, and in the current decade – to slightly over 1 per cent. Words like "Europessimism," "Eurosclerosis," "Eurodecline" are now fairly common on newspaper pages in and outside the United States.

"Europessimists" are sounding the alarm over the alleged lapse of the European entrepreneur (all but genetically) into inertia, conservatism, timidity, inability to make innovations and improvements, and resignation to the EEC becoming an arena of technological rivalry between the United States and Japan. This may be the case, but it is certainly not true of all EEC big businessmen, as evidenced by a package of measures – promptly worked out and already being implemented ahead of schedule – to prevent Europe from becoming a mere technological colony of the overseas giants.

The takeover rush

This is an active and all-out effort, its chief objective being to weld, by December 31, 1992, twelve isolated national markets into a single high-capacity "integrated European market." The Commission of the European Communities is seeking to adapt the EEC to new and tougher international competitive practices so as to offer effective resistance to the onslaught from the United States and Japan.

At a preliminary estimate, a staggering 215-319 billion dollars can be saved in five or six years, through unifying standards and norms, eliminating duplication, slashing overhead expenses, etc. The Community will enter an era of economic growth which is to last till the beginning of the next millennium. The gross domestic product will grow at a rate of 7 per cent a year. Inflation is to go down by 4.5 per cent, and prices by 10-20 per cent. An extra five million jobs will be created (not all that many, considering that there are now 16.6 million unemployed in the EEC). Work efficiency will increase, and business will become livelier. The CEC expects all this to amount to a radical economic revolution.

The entire EEC mechanism is being ruthlessly restructured the capitalist way, with social programmes often slashed. A hundred out of 300 measures aimed at tearing down internal barriers and ensuring the free movement of the work force, capital, goods, services, scientific and technological ideas and know-how, have already been endorsed. Major progress has been made towards coordinating financial and transport policies. The agrarian reform is steadily gaining momentum.

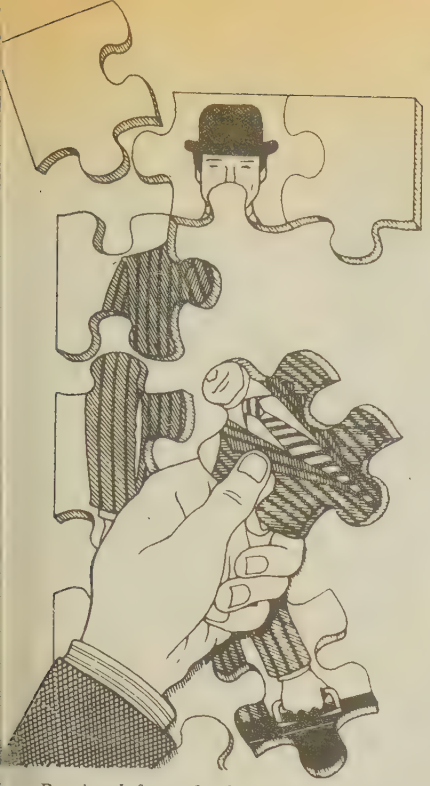
The EEC is now much for company mergers, expanding bilateral and multilateral cooperation and international coproduction. The Community is mustering its forces for future intra-Atlantic battles (how the United States and Japan are preparing for these battles is a subject for separate treatment). State interference is being restricted so as to give more scope for private enterprise, and strengthen companies. The latter are being vigorously enlisted in carrying out a host of industrial and high-technology development programmes to tight schedules; any relevant initiative is welcome. The Community has come close to establishing a central EEC bank and elevating the ECU (a unit of international account settling) to the rank of a convertible monetary unit in its own right, capable of equalling, countervailing and, in time, superseding the dollar as an instrument of currency accumulation, crediting and payments. The formation of an all-European government vested with the appropriate powers is now on the agenda.

Difficulties abound. The break-up of existing structures is an extremely painful process. It is coming up against inertia, bureaucratic procrastination and often fierce resistance on the part of quarters that dread change and thrive only behind high national barriers that give them reliable protection against outside competition.

Western Europe has in many respects fallen rather far behind the U.S. and Japan technologically, and this compels the Old World to hasten the formation of the "intgrated European market." It will have to take a running jump if it is to catch up with the U.S. and Japan in the level of semiconductor, integrated-circuit and super-computer technology and programmed control. Moreover, the latter two countries are also holding firmly onto the world lead in the production of third-generation robots, lasers, industrial ceramics, man-made fibres, biomaterials and magnetic alloys.

Although Western Europe has few trump cards, some of them look impressive: atomic power engineering, particle physics, space and aviation technology, industrial robots (except third-generation ones), super-expresses, certain advances in chemistry and pharmaceutics, and video systems.

Persistent negative trends which retard the Community's progress are causing special concern in the EEC. The Old World's high technology products have been steadily losing in competitiveness over the past 15 years. The balance of trade is either neutral, at best, or (more often) running into the red. To compare, export earnings constitute 0.5 per cent of the U.S. and 3.5 per cent of the Japanese gross domestic product. In the West European export of finished goods, the proportion of high technology products does not exceed 17 per cent (the Japanese and U.S. figures are 21 and 31 per cent, respectively). West Europe imports almost half (40 per cent) of the hi-tech products it needs, as against the United States' 15 per cent and the Land of the Rising Sun's 8. Electronics is the EEC's Achilles' heel. Of the capitalist world's twenty biggest electronic product manufacturers, ten are American, six are Japanese and only four are West European. The United States controls 55, and Japan 19 per cent of the West's total



Reprinted from the Economist (Britain)

ectronic production. It will be recalled that ork efficiency, the rate of technological ogress and the very future of the industry end today on electronics. A country that orts most of its electronic equipment is danger of ceasing to be part of modern ilization, the CEC warns.

There is no denying the obvious fact that modern business practice, characterized it is by a high rate of scientific and chnological progress, the manufacturer ho is first to make new inventions a reality an deal with competitors from a position of trength. The EEC has few new ideas to oast of. The bulk of the world's semiconuctors are produced by six American and ur Japanese companies. The data ocumentation facilities market is domiated by eight American and two Japanese orporations. The total turnover of the EC's five leading companies specializing this field constitutes a mere 5 per cent of at of the American firm IBM alone.

In other spheres, the situation is about e same. Five American and three apanese colossi have a firm lead in the roduction of electronic components. The t of the leading integrated circuit manacturers is topped by four Japanese comanies, the fifth, sixth and seventh places oing to the Americans, with the F.R.G., ly and Switzerland coming next. The Old orld accounts for a mere 13 per cent of e world's export trade in these compoents. Or take optoelectornics. Europe's mpetitors have long taken over as the ading producers of lasers, glass fibres d video systems. As for data processors, estern Europe produces barely enough of em to meet 40 per cent of its own and 10 r cent of the world's needs.

ostly miscalculations

The causes of such a substantial lag have been accumulating for years. It has taken Western Europe too long to enter the third phase of the scientific and technological revolution that began in the seventies. This was largely due to serious miscalculations in the EEC countries' government policy. Since the middle of the last decade, the Community has regarded its mounting economic problems as consequences of the energy crisis for the most part. It has therefore concentrated on keeping afloat ferrous metallurgy, shipbuilding and the other industries hardest hit by the crisis. Science and technology depend for their progress on quite different spheres, however, which were sacrificed to traditional specializations. The latter were stimulated at the expense and to the detriment of high technology.

Other past mistakes have now come to light. In the seventies, the EEC regarded microelectronics solely as an auxiliary subbranch, with just a few forward-looking businessmen discerning its dramatic promise. On the other hand, traditional optics (actually subsidiary to the electronic and electrical engineering industries) was regarded as a major avenue of scientific and technological progress. The analyses and research carried out in the U.S. and Japan over the past 15 years were ignored by Western Europe. It was a case of prophets being without honour in other as well as their own countries.

The Community's rivals return high profits from the best investment of all – personnel training. EEC industry is still short of researchers and engineers. Japan trains 630 engineers per million of the population; the United States, 360, and the Old World, a mere 260.

The practice of the state placing big orders with private companies, common in the EEC countries, has promoted the growth of such concerns as Siemens and AEG/Telefunken (F.R.G.), Thomson, Compagnie Générale d'Electricité and Bull (France), Olivetti (Italy), Thorn EMI and Plessey (Britain), which have come to occupy a privileged position in their respective countries. But there has proved to be a seamy side to the system of "national champions." The rate of integration within the EEC has slowed down. Parallelism, duplication and lack of industrial policy coordination among the Community's members persist. All this leads to an enormous waste of money.

Western Europe spends on research and development work about as much as the U.S. and Japan taken together, but gets much less out of it. This is due to several causes. The investment-research-discovery-innovation-production mechanism has not yet been optimized. The links between industry and higher education research remains weak. A researcher has no chance of working in the private sector and in a university laboratory at the same time. Private company owners often do not even know what university laboratories are doing and give them no material support. Actually, industry, higher education and the state are self-contained entities, although it is precisely to the alliance of the three that the U.S.A. largely owes its successes.

In the Community, the state has made a practice of imposing its policy and its priorities on private companies and on research institutions, suppressing their initiatives, restricting their independence and blocking their joint research efforts. This interferes with the spread of advanced technology. It is easier for the West Europeans to enter into scientific and technological cooperation and embark on co-production projects – all of which are essential to remain in the highly competitive market – with the Americans and the Japanese than with each other. This dooms EEC member states to a heavy dependence on foreign deliveries. Taking advantage of that, the U.S. has repeatedly resorted to technological embargoes as a means of wrestling concessions from its partners.

The low level of financial mobility remains a weak spot in the EEC. The amount of so-called venture capital readily available to middle and small companies, especially in their formative period, is infinitesimal as compared with that of the United States and Japan, which are distinguished by dynamism and flexibility. As a result, no more semiconductor factories, for instance, are being opened in Western Europe, while concerns like Philips and Siemens are clearly failing to keep pace with scientific and technological progress in the sphere of solid-state circuitry.

"We are in danger of being crushed not by an influx of wealth, but by our rivals' more skilful use of knowledge," a West European politician warns. The U.S. and Japan are far ahead of the EEC in the standard of management. The time it takes an American company to carry out complete restructuring or to make a new idea a reality is incredibly short by Old World standards. The formation of an "integrated European market" is meant to put an end to such phenomena.

In his book "The American Challenge," the prominent French politician and politologist Jean-Jacques Servan-Schrieber warns that the war unleashed against Western Europe is being fought not with dollars, oil or tons of steel, and not even with modern machinery; the opponents' most formidable weapons are creative imagination and organizing genius. This is the first great war without weapons and armour. "We are cornered," he writes, "unless we forge an all-European industrial policy, American industry will continue to decide the future of the EEC." If the Community now fails to come up with a worthy answer to the U.S. (and Japan), he adds, it will never have another chance to do so. All the indications are that the EEC leaders are prepared to give such an answer.

Lev Makarevich

QUOTATIONS

Hans-Dietrich Genscher,
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, the F.R.G.

■ Having turned towards the rest of the world, the Soviet Union has at the same time begun a far-reaching reform of its own system with a view to transforming political, economic, social, cultural, and legal relations in the country. The latest decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Supreme Soviet and above all the election of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev head of state reaffirm the policy of reform. In spite of all the difficulties in the way of the reform, it is assuming an impressive dynamic. Mikhail Gorbachev's own description of the process as a revolution is as fair as his confidence that the process is irreversible... The more progress the reform in the Soviet Union makes, the more prepared for multilateral cooperation with Western democracies the Soviet Union becomes...

Raif Dizdarevic,
President of the Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia

■ The present economic and political situation in the country is still, regrettably, complex. We are still doing more to assess than to change it. The economy is at a standstill, inflation is running high, and political relations are deteriorating. The integrity of the country and the chances of coming through the crisis are in jeopardy. There have been mass expressions of discontent and concern about the future of the nation...

We are now paying for the bureaucratic alienation from the people of many institutions and functionaries... It is part of the price we now have to pay for bureaucracy that anarchic elements have, unfortunately, emerged in the country. Neither anarchy nor unrest has ever helped anyone cope with a crisis...

"Another sunstroke! It's the warming-up of the international climate that does it."

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

K. Zardykhan,
D. Sc. (History), Mongolia

■ Internationalist assistance to Mongolia on the part of the socialist countries has been widely acclaimed. We have grown accustomed to pinning our hopes above all on internationalism, friendship, and cooperation. Failure to use our own initiative in promoting the development of the country has manifested itself, in among other things, the fact that we are trying to rely on credits and assistance from the fraternal nations in dealing with the greater part of our foreign trade deficit and our investment.

All this must not prevent us from realizing our own potential today. The task facing us today is to renew our ideological and educational work in order not only to be able to use the assistance given us by the fraternal countries more efficiently, but also to mobilize our own efforts, stimulate self-reliance, and help the working people better to understand their patriotic and internationalist duty.

Miroslav Zavadil,
Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Czechoslovakia

■ The process of livening up the country's economy has not yet been completed. The targets for the growth of the national income in the first half of the current five-year-plan period have not been met. We have fallen 28 billion korunas short of them. Last year's performance in dealing with social needs is on the whole viewed positively, although the plan was not met here either, but let's face it, such an approach, which is deleterious to the outlook for further progress, will no longer do... We have failed to carry out the entire package of measures aimed at improving health care. In spite of the fact that the country is among the most advanced nations of the world in terms of the ratio of physicians and hospital beds per capita of the population, the sums invested in health care are still inadequate. The rate of occupational disease and injuries is a major source of concern.

Hun Sen,
member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of Kampuchea

■ The United Nations can play a positive role in reaching a just settlement of the problem of Kampuchean representation. The fact that the pseudogovernment of Democratic Kampuchea – a cover for the Khmers Rouges – is represented at the U.N. is interfering with the course of the talks, the process of national reconciliation, and U.N. involvement in dealing with the Kampuchean problem. The U.N. General Assembly must make a stand on the wrong resolutions on the issue that have been passed over a period of ten years by previous sessions of the General Assembly. The Khmers Rouges and their closest patrons are obviously the principal obstacle in the way of achieving a settlement in Kampuchea and Southeast Asia as a whole.

A demonstration in support of "a fundamental renewal" of Libyan society.

A year of change

Anatoly Yegorin

"If the revolution does not correct the mistake itself, we'll have to correct the revolution," Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi said recently. The Libyan government is searching for ways of overcoming the economic difficulties that have seriously affected the political situation in the country.

On the morning of September 1, 1969, bedouin Abu Menjar and his wife Aisha intended to go to market to sell some of their goats and sheep there. They were bustling about in their tent in the desert. It was necessary to hurry before the sun was too high. Aisha was bundling things up, and Abu decided to feed the cattle before the journey. Mechanically, he switched on the transistor radio and heard military marches being played instead of the usual light entertainment programme.

Then the music broke off abruptly, and an announcer began to read out a text. His voice seemed familiar to Abu Menjar. "People of Libya," the announcer said, "in response to your own will, fulfilling your most heartfelt wishes, answering your incessant demands for change and regeneration and your longing to strive towards these ends; listening to your incitement to rebel, your armed forces have undertaken the overthrow of the reactionary and corrupt regime."

Abu Menjar could not believe his ears. It was the voice of his son. He called his wife and they continued to listen together. The parents were not mistaken. Their 27-year-old son, Muammar Abu Menjar al-Qaddafi, was reading out Communiqué No. 1 on the removal of King Idris I from power and the institution of a republican form of government.

"Islamic socialism"

The course of Libyan development and the prospects for its home and foreign policy were charted by Qaddafi in an interview on Egyptian television on October 14, 1969. "By liberty, we mean that individual and national liberty which will eliminate poverty, colonialism and the presence on our soil of foreign troops and foreign bases," he said. "By unity, we mean the unity of all the Arab peoples... By socialism, we mean above all an Islamic socialism." In these words the young leader formulated the model of his future philosophy.

The pamphlets brought out in Libya in large editions in the mid-1970s described Qaddafi's theoretical views as a "third international theory." The leader of the Libyan revolution did not adopt the principles of scientific socialism, but at the same time came out against development along the capitalist path. Qaddafi's "third international theory" was elaborated in his "Green Book," which examines ways of tackling Libya's political, economic and social problems.

Qaddafi suggested replacing the republican form of government ("the power of the minority") with "the power of the people as a whole." He called for a system of workers' self-management in the economy and the combining of the "social factor" with the religious in such a

way as to make man free of all the "conventionalitiets of society" imposed on him. The leader of the Libyan revolution vowed to implement the ideas of "Islamic socialism."

On April 15, 1973, he proclaimed the beginning of a "people's revolution," the principal slogan of which said: "there is no democracy without people's assemblies." By September 1974, a total of 2,000 people's committees – local government bodies – had been elected throughout the country. In January 1976, the formation of a General People's Congress was declared. The activity of other political parties was banned.

On March 2, 1977, an extraordinary session of the General People's Congress proclaimed a new form of government – jamahiriya, or the power of the people – and adopted a new name for the country – Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Revolutionary committees play the master

It happened in June 1978. The knock at the door of my flat in Tripoli was so loud that the windows rattled. I opened the door and saw three curly-haired unshaven lads on the threshold. One of them held a bucket of green paint and a long stick with a brush tied to it.

"What's happened?" I asked.

"We are from the revolutionary committee. In the name of the revolution and under law No. 4 your flat is being confiscated and turned over to the people."

"But the flat was once confiscated under law No. 88 and was then returned to me," I said.

"Please show the documents entitling you to this flat."

I produced the documents, and the lads examined them for a long time, exchanging remarks. Then one of them said: "The matter will be examined by the revolutionary committee. We'll be waiting for you there tomorrow."

While I was talking with two of the lads, the third, who held the bucket, was daubing paint on the white wall near the staircase. The phrase he traced in Arabic read, "Revolution forever." Looking down, I saw the same slogan daubed on the wall of a floor below.

After the members of the revolutionary committee had left, I asked my neighbour, a Libyan officer, what was happening.

He told me that members of the revolutionary committee were checking how law No. 4 (on the abolition of surplus living space) was being enforced. Our house belonged to a landlord who had fled abroad, and the flats were to be distributed amongst the homeless. The revolution continues.

The first revolutionary committees were set up in 1978, at the height of the struggle against the opponents of revolutionary changes. These bodies were formed mainly of young people who had proved with their deeds their adherence to the ideals of the jamahiriya. Later on, the revolutionary committees in big cities initiated the drive to expose "enemies of the people." As a result of their activities, round-ups were organized and a large number of members of distinguished families imprisoned.

After that, the revolutionary committees began to "seize" private firms. They also took political control of the armed forces, the appointment of officers and their promotion. During the ten years of their existence, the revolutionary committees have become non-party bodies constituting the main pillar of the country's revolutionary leadership.

In the political sphere, the revolutionary committees have eradicated any dissidence, proclaiming their desire to get rid of any attributes of the traditional bourgeois state. In the economic sphere, they have levelled their attacks at the private sector. In daily life, only revolutionary committees could quickly convene a meeting, hold a "public trial" of a bureaucrat or a person charged with abuse of power, or put forward "a new revolutionary initiative."

Initial successes

Our car drove slowly along Tripoli's September 1 Street. We passed the Palace of the People, buried in verdure (a former residence of the king), the yellow buildings of the main hospital, a shady park, a shopping centre, and finally stopped in front of a high fence. I pressed the button in the gate of the luxurious villa to which we had been invited.

The door was opened by our host dressed in snow-white national costume. After the traditional oriental greetings we were invited in. In a picturesque summer house in the garden we seated ourselves on padded stools. Beyond the evergreen shrubs round the house one could see orange, lemon and pomegranate trees laden with fruit.

I had become acquainted with Ismail, the owner of the villa, a long time before. In the past, he had owned several enterprises and engaged in the import-export business. Today, he is an adviser in a government department. His enterprises have been "seized" by former employees united in revolutionary committees. What was left has been invested by him in state-owned enterprises.

"The revolutionary committees are influential, of course," Ismail said. "However, one should also be able to run the economy and understand it."

Ismail had no doubts that the young people chanting revolutionary slogans in the streets would attain their goals. But in the meantime, he noted, they are encountering immense difficulties. Unlike other businessmen, Ismail keeps his capital in Libya, though he could transfer it to foreign banks. He believes that better times will

come for him, but he does not grieve over the past.

The majority of the people, Ismail said, approve of the reforms, are against Libya's dependence on Western, mainly European, markets, and angrily oppose the military and economic blockade imposed by the United States. But there are also opponents of the reforms, mainly those who formerly had close links with Western imperialists and local reactionaries.

The post-revolutionary development of the Libyan economy can be divided in two stages: before 1982, when the country was amassing petrodollars, and after 1982, when the influx of hard currency fell off sharply because of the decline in world market prices.

The 1969-74 plan, adopted under the King, was cancelled by the revolutionary government as "incompatible with the interests of the nation and its real needs." The new authorities drew up a provisional transitional economic programme, followed by three plans for economic and social reform: a three-year plan (1973-75) and two five-year plans (1976-80 and 1981-85). But the government did not wait for the results of the fulfilment of the second five-year plan (which proved unsatisfactory) and worked out a new programme – long-term prospects for development, its main directions and measures for achieving the planned targets in 1980-2000 – which is now being implemented.

The revolutionary leadership is seeking to reduce the national economy's dependence on oil output and marketing, and build up a modern industry and productive agriculture capable of protecting Libya economically from the situation on the world market.

Impressive successes have been achieved in the social sphere. By the end of the second world war the gross national product per head of population was only 15 dollars. In 1951, when Libya won independence, per capita GNP was 40 dollars, one of the lowest in the world. By the early 1980s the figure had exceeded 10,000 dollars. Libya was one of the richest and prosperous countries in Africa and the Arab East.

Schools and dispensaries have been opened throughout the country, and such diseases as infantile paralysis, trachoma and tuberculosis have been eradicated. In the 19 postrevolutionary years more than eight billion dollars have been spent on secondary education, whereas the Royal regime allocated only 95 million dollars for this purpose. Libya now has 81 colleges, 220 libraries, 25 centres for the distribution of knowledge, and the same number of cultural centres. Law No. 13 has fixed the minimum old-age pension at about 140 dollars a month. These and other measures have considerably expanded the regime's social base.

Born in the year of the revolution.

After the oil boom

The unjustified radicalism that manifested itself in the activity of revolutionary committees in the late 1970s led to a sharp conflict between the propertied sections of the population and the revolutionary authorities. Private enterprise was gradually curtailed, and revolutionary committees became virtual watchdogs of the leadership, committing injustices in the guise of revolutionary slogans.

In 1981 the private sector was outlawed, and a year later oil prices on the world market dropped. Oil output had to be brought down to 50 million tons. After the oil boom Libyan incomes fell by a third. This compelled the revolutionary leadership to suspend the construction of several projects and the implementation of some social reforms. The supply of the population with articles of prime necessity and foodstuffs became irregular, which resulted in shortages and price rises. This was attributed by the people not to objective difficulties but to the lack of prospects and inefficiency of the administrative bodies.

The leadership took "corrective measures," slashing imports and proclaiming a policy of austerity and reliance on the nation's own efforts. Qaddafi called for the establishment of "jamahiriya neighbourhoods" in which the people could master all the necessary trades and become self-sufficient. All Libyans were urged to participate in social production.

The government suspended the construction of about 300 projects, leaving only the most essential ones such as "the great man-made river," a 1,800-km-long pipeline to supply water from the Sahara's entrails to Tripoli and Benghazi on the Mediterranean coast. The construction of a large metallurgical works is under way at Misurata. Output is growing in the agricultural zones – the main suppliers of meat and vegetables.

The fund-saving measures taken by the government checked the development of many negative phenomena, but failed to reduce the growing discontent created by the difficulties.

This compelled the authorities to undertake "fundamental renewal." In March 1987 the private sector was allowed to operate, though the decision was characterized as a "forced measure." All prisoners, with the exception of recidivists and "spies," were released. The revolutionary committees were forbidden to make further arrests.

In July of this year the General People's

Congress formed a secretariat for the revolutionary orientation of the jamahiriya, which took under its control the work of "unbridled radicals" from revolutionary committees. All Libyans were allowed to travel abroad without restriction. Overall, the number of secretariats was halved. At the same time, the number of companies granted commercial independence increased several times over.

The recognition of the multistructural character of Libyan society was a reflection of the constructive development of the Libyan model of people's government. The public sector was and remains the principal one. But in addition to it the private sector has been revived, mixed companies are being set up, and an impulse has been given to cooperative enterprise. All this has spurred on economic growth and enhanced public activity.

The government's decision to end the war against Chad was welcomed by the people and proved beneficial to the stabilization of the internal situation. This was followed by energetic efforts to establish cordial relations with Algeria and Tunisia.

On September 1, 1988, the government took further steps towards liberalization. The abolition of all state-run import and export companies enabled manufacturing firms to establish direct ties on the world market. Moreover, the "classic army and traditional police" were disbanded and armed formations of the people set up. This measure put an end to the privileges enjoyed by the armed forces and security bodies.

The political effect of the reforms has proved greater than their economic results. All this has changed the mood of the people, which had been very seldom cheerful since the boom. Businessmen, only yesterday dismissed as "parasites," have again become fully-fledged citizens. This year Libya has turned perhaps the most difficult page in its post-revolutionary history.

Blows from without

The West, especially the United States, does not conceal its hostility towards this policy, constantly undertaking political, economic and military sanctions against Libya.

Tension between Libya and the United States rose to a high pitch for the first time in 1973, when Washington's muscle-flexing nearly led to intervention. U.S. politicians and military were then held back by the oil corporations, which had invested one and a half billion dollars in Libya.

Keeping a sizeable part of the Libyan assets in American banks, and annually getting over 40 per cent of Libyan oil, Washington bided its time for about five years to take the measure of the new Libyan leaders. But dialogue between Libya and the United States did not start, and at the end of 1979 tension between the two countries again increased.

Shortly before the tenth anniversary of the Libyan revolution, the Pentagon held naval exercises off Libyan shores. This sparked off violent protests in the country. In December 1979 the U.S. embassy in Tripoli was burned down in the course of a demonstration, and the Libyan diplomatic mission was closed in Washington. In August 1981, American planes, having violated Libyan air space in the Gulf of Sidra, shot down two Libyan planes. After that incident, Libya made a complaint to the United Nations. In the same year a vociferous campaign was organized in the United States over the alleged infiltration of Libyan terrorists with the aim of assassinating President Reagan. For the first time Libya was publicly accused of backing international terrorism.

In March 1982 Washington imposed an embargo on imports of Libyan oil and the delivery of American equipment to Libya. Three years later the United States introduced a full-scale embargo on Libyan oil imports.

1986 saw a third, and extremely dangerous, aggravation of tension between the two countries. On April 15, 1986, U.S. planes attacked Tripoli and Benghazi. President Reagan declared then that the Libyan government's policy continued to represent a grave threat to the national security of the United States.

At the height of the U.S.–organized economic blockade, I saw tankers being loaded with oil in the Gulf of Sidra. Libya had found markets for its oil, which still brings the country over 80 per cent of its hard currency revenue. Efforts were simultaneously made to improve relations with other Arab states. The current tendency towards a peaceful settlement of the most delicate issues has enabled Libya to deal with its foreign policy in a constructive way.

It cannot be said that hard times for Libya are over. But things are definitely better. The revolution continues.

TRIPOLI-MOSCOW

Not long ago New Times carried an article "Next Step on the Bridge" by Clinton Gardner, who wrote about peace research and the possibility of establishing a transnational peace institute (TPI), possibly to be located at a prospective Moscow dialogue centre.

Working together at the Bridges for Peace in Norwich, Vermont, we repeatedly thought of how peace research could make for an improvement of American-Soviet relations. Clinton Gardner suggested that I "brainstorm" ideas for the programme of a transnational peace institute. The "brainstorm" approach to an idea is to set down quickly all the thoughts that occur to one's mind about some problem, without a critical evaluation or elaborated subsequent reflection. That is the nature of these thoughts. I shall be pleased if they call forth new thinking from New Times readers, which could prove useful for a future transnational peace institute.

Why to set up TPI

One of the proposals advanced at the international forum in Moscow for a nuclear-free world, for the survival of mankind called for the establishment of a transnational peace institute to examine a process by which the people of the world can move towards a secure future. Since a variety of peace institutes exist, any new one should carefully think about its role. For instance, the Stockholm-based International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) has gained wide recognition by monitoring the global military balance from the neutral position.

I think there is quite a real task for a transnational peace institute, namely, to orient itself to the humanities, not to exact sciences. Taking for its directive the words from the UNESCO charter – "Since it is in the minds of men that wars begin, it is in the minds of men that the barriers against war must be erected," the institute could conduct research in societal engineering. In other words, it would seek to determine factors that enhance the peaceableness of individuals, groups and societies.

For this reason the institute in question should be oriented towards the "long-term" and apply the findings obtained by the investigation of the short-term," for instance, arms con-

Thoughts on peace research
The "brainstorm" approach to ideas

Richard Hough-Ross

rol, better understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union, etc. In a sense, TPI should place itself in the future by assuming that all these problems have already been solved.

A possible programme

What could a future-oriented institute do in practice?

Its principal goal is to "build bridges" between the scientific world and the general public, between nations, classes and various scientific subjects (an inter-disciplinary approach), and even between ideologies.

Let us consider this scenario. A mullah and an ordinary Muslim, a Catholic priest and a Catholic woman, a Buddhist monk and an ordinary Buddhist, a Communist Party official and a rank-and-file party member gather one morning in a conference room to discuss a question which is as old as the world: "What is man's destination?" The discussion could be videotaped and broadcast for the global audience.

In another department of the institute an anthropologist could be indexing research in the various national cultures to determine if there are specific values and practices that should be held up to the world community to enhance the nurture of persons able to live with tolerance of diversity, and able to imagine win-win means to conflict resolution.

One of the departments of the TPI could study different projects of development of the Third World. These projects could be examined by youth teams of the United States, the Soviet Union, West and East European countries, working **under the direction of citizens of the host countries in which the projects took place.** On the morning in question, the returned veterans of these projects could discuss the following theme: "What I value in the culture of X."

Another major section of the institute would be working out the blueprint for a cohesive global economy, recognizing economic interdependence and seeking to take ecological needs into account.

The institute could also have a section on political psychology.

Another research project would investigate the formation of such political systems as nazism and apartheid to identify the early warning signs. The world would have avoided tremendous suffering had these signs been noted and heeded in Germany in the 1930s and in South Africa in a definite period of its history.

Richard Hough-Ross with Alice Frazier, leader of Promoting Enduring Peace, at a meeting of activists of anti-war movements in Moscow. *Photo by V. Panov*

A section of civilian-based defence could be set up to study techniques that would help a people resist invasion and subjugation without resort to counterviolence.

There might also be a "joint-history" project in which historians from two countries, say, the United States and the Soviet Union, would be commissioned to write a joint work on the most controversial periods in the history of their countries.

Other tasks

The institute could cooperate on a mutual basis with existing "single-issue" organizations of a truly transnational character, for instance, the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Vienna and Amnesty International.

It might be important from the beginning to establish a "short-term" or "tactical" department that would do projects nearer the mainstream of present thinking in the academic and political institutions. But probably most important is the "long-term" or "strategic" department that would do the difficult and visionary work of trying to identify the traits of the "optimum human being for life in the third millennium" – a person secure in himself or herself, unafraid of difference, eager for dialogue, open, receptive, characterized by humility rather than self-righteousness, able to empathize with the full range of human emotion and thought, committed to being not simply bi- or trilingual, but also multi-cultural.

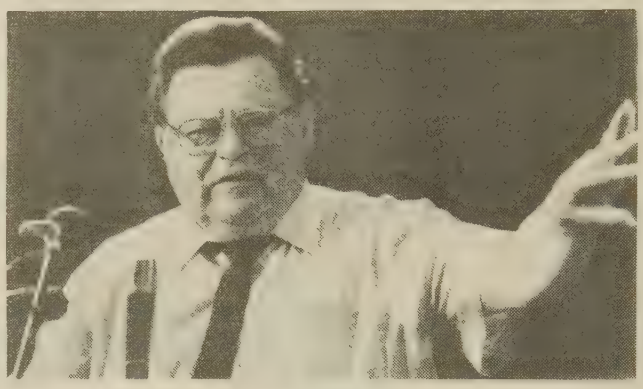
The human mind and spirit are not entities that can be described by "either-or" categories, that is, there are no "good" people and "bad" people. There are, rather, polarities or spectra within each human being. In other words, most of us can behave either as cowards or heroes when confronted by particular circumstances of threat.

If we may accept that the human condition is to live as a bundle of sometimes conflicting, interrelated polarities, oscillating from time to time along a range of possibilities, then I would go one step further and suggest that the most basic polarity – the one that underlies and orders all the others – is the polarity "love-fear."

Love inclines us to relatedness. Fear inclines us to isolation. In our time there are many circumstances that drive persons towards the pole of fear on this spectrum. The task of a future-oriented transnational peace institute is to discern and disseminate all that would move us towards the pole of love – love not as sentimentality but as a willed compassion, a commitment to empathy. A constellation of personal and societal traits would correlate with the movement from fear to love – openness, flexibility, acceptance that there is a pluralism of fundamental assumptions about existence, a sense of the self as unfinished, in process, able to learn ever more of the full range of human possibility. ■

Controversial legacy

The sudden death of Franz Josef Strauss has changed the political landscape of the F.R.G. He was leader of the Christian Social Union (CSU) for 27 years and for ten years held the post of Minister-President of Bavaria.



Franz Josef Strauss was a member of the old guard of West German politicians, and was involved in every major act of decision-making since the Federal Republic was formed. The authoritative Munich newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung says that the death of Franz Josef Strauss marked the end of an era in the country's history. There would seem to be no reason, however, for saying that the past forty-odd years have been the Strauss era in the history of the F.R.G. The colourful Bavarian Minister-President represented only one, albeit, very influential, political tendency in that country. Franz Josef Strauss defined its platform himself when in 1968 he called his party conservative in so many words.

By that time the party had, however, secured a firm position on the right of the political spectrum. The future leader of the Christian Social Union began his career during the cold war and that largely conditioned his political leanings and particularly his views on foreign policy. His commitment to power politics went back to those years.

Franz Josef Strauss was closely associated with the remilitarization of the F.R.G. In the period between 1956 and 1962, when he headed the Defence Ministry, the West German ground forces became NATO's strongest army in Europe. He failed to secure nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr, however. Later Franz Josef Strauss backed the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. He pressed for their deployment in the F.R.G., and used every opportunity to oppose the signing of the INF treaty.

In the eyes of Soviet readers who follow events on the West German political scene, Franz Josef Strauss was no doubt a notorious figure. His frequent anti-Soviet statements and links with revanchist groups in the F.R.G. provided ample reason for this, as did his contacts with the reactionary rulers of some countries, the Chilean dictator and the leaders of the racist South African regime among them. The leader of the Christian Social Union was one of the masterminds of the resistance to the Ostpolitik pursued by the Brandt-Scheel government, which wanted to normalize relations between the F.R.G. and the socialist countries on the basis of recognition of the postwar political and territorial realities. But having suffered a setback, he affirmed his commitment to the principle that treaties must be observed.

Yet at the same time Franz Josef Strauss was a complex figure. For decades he was described as a representative of big business and a man closely linked with the military corporations, but it cannot be denied that he made a decisive contribution to Bavaria's progress from an agrarian backyard to one of the most industrially advanced parts of the F.R.G., which now accounts not only for its tanks and warplanes, but also for sophisticated industrial equipment, cars, optical instruments and many other products. Bavaria's economic prosperity and its low rate of unemployment, well below the national average, are the main reasons for the Christian Social Union's sustained appeal to the electorate. A convinced conservative, the Bavarian Minister-President never turned a blind eye to the imperatives of the day. He was the first to appoint a minister for the protection of the environment. This portfolio now exists in all West German lands as well as in the Federal government.

In recent years Franz Josef Strauss undertook many foreign policy moves that did not square with his declared anti-communist objectives. At times his moves baffled his supporters. It was he who assisted the granting of a billion credit to the G.D.R. in 1983. He met with Erich Honecker on many occasions. During Erich Honecker's visit to the F.R.G., Franz Josef Strauss gave him an official welcome in Munich as a head of state. For a long time Franz Josef Strauss refrained from making sharp anti-Soviet attacks. On the contrary, he used every opportunity to visit neighbouring socialist countries and meet with their leaders. For a long time the Soveit Union remained the sole exception but Franz Josef Strauss was hardly to blame for that. Moscow apparently subscribed to the view that it was not worth its while to have dealings with a politician like him. It is doubtful whether that stand contributed to mutual understanding. But times are changing.

Franz Josef Strauss, the politician, visited Moscow for the first time at the very end of last year. His first and last visit here and what he had to say in this country and upon his return home caused a political sensation in the F.R.G.

Summing up the results of his talks in the Soviet capital, Franz Josef Strauss said: "we are now on the threshold of a new era to be reigned by Mercury, the god of commerce, rather than Mars, the god of war."

Here is what he said last June: "Developments on the world scene will now be determined by scientific and technological progress, rather than advantage in terms of weapons. We are at the start of a process at the end of which the world will be a different place." He went on to say: "The Federal Republic can contribute to building a common European home of shared cultural heritage, peace, exchanges of ideas and goods, and cooperation."

Franz Josef Strauss was now prepared to say good things about the INF treaty, with the reservation however that further disarmament steps would follow it. He believed that the West should draw up its own concept of disarmament, rather than merely respond to Soviet initiatives. He did not propose anything constructive with that goal in mind. Perhaps he ran out of time...

Having acknowledged that the "threat from the East has weakened," he could no longer remain committed to the same policies and rhetoric.

As we see, Franz Josef Strauss has left a controversial legacy. The question is what aspects of it his successors will choose to preserve and what they will attempt to discard.

Alexander Tolpegin

The war syndrome

At the beginning was the letter:

American Vietnam war veterans and Soviet fightingmen just back from Afghanistan have met in Moscow

"I am enclosing my thoughts on a joint Soviet-American effort to help returning Soviet veterans of the Afghanistan war readjust to society and perhaps avoid some of the serious problems that plague the American Vietnam veterans.

Please keep in mind, however, that my intent is not to criticize nor condone the actions or inactions of either the Soviet or U.S. governments. My sole purpose is to honour the warrior not the war.

As you know, the war in Vietnam was a very unpopular one with the American people. As a result, the American people frequently showed their distaste for the war by either virtually ignoring the returning veterans or by blaming them for the war itself.

When we came 'home' it was sometimes into a very hostile environment. Even our loved ones, family and friends did not know how to respond to us. For the returning warrior this could lead to loneliness, isolation, distrust, anger and pain. Most of the time there was no one to talk out our problems with, to understand us, to turn to, except other veterans of that war.

Frustration, at times, ruled our lives. Because of that and our experiences in war, we withdrew instead. For many of us this meant turning to alcohol, drugs, and/or crime. For others, many others, it meant suicide.

Because a few concerned and dedicated medical professionals recognized a need to study and help the Vietnam veteran, a new phrase was added to the Vietnam war dictionary: post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This malady has stricken approximately one of every three Vietnam veterans and continues to be a vital source of research material for the medical profession.

As a combat veteran and concerned citizen of this planet, I can see and feel a great similarity between my Soviet brothers and us. We share a common bond: our country called us to duty and we answered the call. We went to do a job to the best of our abilities.

I know my Soviet brothers will agree when I say that military orders are not to be questioned, only obeyed. We did obey, therefore we became warriors for our respective homelands. For this we are to be respected by those who did not go and fight.
In my opinion, combat is a desperate act of survival. It also changes a man.

Wars make the men who fight them comrades. Sometimes it is hard to realize how lucky we veterans are to have survived a war, other times we may feel guilty because we did.

All of this leads me to believe that we, my Soviet brothers, my American Vietnam veteran brothers and me share many of the same problems. Problems that Vietnam veterans have been trying to solve for many years. Together we can help each other to cope and to heal.

After all, to view the horrors of war and survive must motivate one to help promote peace."

Respectfully,
Danny REED
Vietnam war veteran, Iowa

This letter was handed over to me in Iowa City last summer by the Iowa Senator Jean Lloyd-Jones. Unfortunately, its author could not turn up in person. "He is very hopeful that his suggestion will get someone interested," Jean told me. Neither she, nor myself believed then that this idea would ever become a reality in the near future.

"With us, it's different," a Moscow official intoned. And threw in a cliché: "Our internationalist warriors have gone through a grim school of life, learnt a great deal and grown up. Now they are an example for our youth to follow."

The letter didn't get him interested.

The idea voiced by the American veteran has taken root. On the Soviet side, it has been implemented by the Komsomolskaya Pravda's Social Inventions Fund, and on the American side, by Reed's compatriots, also veterans, through the Earthstewards Network organization. The American veterans have visited the U.S.S.R. on a mission of mercy. Their delegation comprised psychologists, experts in postwar traumas, prosthetic devices and equipment for the disabled. Also on the delegation were representatives of ATW, a company that organized the production of wheelchairs in many countries. The Americans brought along prostheses of their make and the equipment for their manufacture. They held talks on exchanges with a number of Soviet cooperatives, and among them the recently formed cooperative Invatekhnika in Moscow.

All the participants in the meeting said that the most important thing for them was to communicate with people who have an experience of war and therefore have a lot in common.

Our correspondent **Veronica KHILCHEVSKAYA** has talked with the Soviet and American participants in the Moscow meeting

Nikolai CHUVANOV, 28

"I did my service in Afghanistan in 1979-80. I was wounded in July 1980 and admitted to hospital. I was wounded in the leg. It all ended with gas gangrene and an amputation."

"Was it difficult for you to return to normal life?"

"It is very difficult to recall all this. I did not realize at the hospital that I was now a disabled man. All are equal there, all were badly wounded. When I returned to Moscow, I met my friends. All of them were healthy and their lives were full of interesting things. I realized then that a lot will be missing from my own life, and I must confess that I gave in. I started boozing and using drugs whenever I had a chance to get them."

"Where did you use drugs for the first time?"

"In Afghanistan. Then in the hospital. The anaesthetic injections they gave me were narcotic. After the doctors realized that I could no longer do without them, they tried to help me. I left the hospital practically withdrawn from addiction. But in Moscow I found myself under stress and started using drugs again. I had a good run of luck: I have a friend with whom we went through a great deal at the hospital. It was he who got me on my feet again.

"We had an honest-to-good talk with him. He told me that if I didn't want to end up alone, I had to quit. It is either friendship or booze and drugs, he said. I knew he would never leave me in the lurch. But I was afraid to be alone, among people who value only themselves. Few knew then what the Afghan war is like. Some pictured us as holiday-makers baking in the sun, going on hikes to the mountains and making a lot of money... I came back without a penny to my name.

"I got a job in the end. My former YCL secretary managed to get me involved in YCL activities. He wasn't too hard on me. He tried to get me interested in this life. In general, he prevented me from hitting the rock bottom."

"Have you got a family?"

"I used to have one, but I got a divorce. I might get married soon."

"You work in the Invatekhnika cooperative now. How have you got there?"

"I got a phone call from them. They learned that I was disabled and that I was concerned with the problems of the army invalids in reserve. They said I could help the cooperative and the boys because the prostheses they make enable them to walk. I tested the products of the cooperative myself. Before that I tried to walk without a stick for eight years. That was real hard. My old prosthesis chafed, and it took a long time getting used to it. I can do without the stick now and am doing a lot more walking."

"What was your first reaction to the American Vietnam war veterans wishing to come to the U.S.S.R. and meet with Afghan veterans?"

"I wanted to meet with them for a long time. Before Afghanistan, I thought badly of them. Regarded them as murderers and barbarians. After I went through the war myself, I realized that many of them are plain fightingmen who did as they were told."

"Did you get along well?"

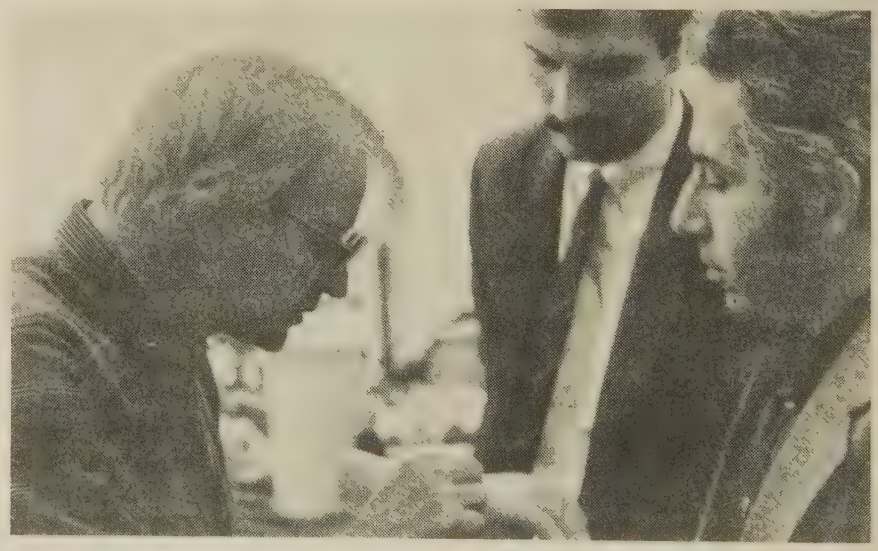
"Here is an example. There is a guy named Shad Meshad on the U.S. delegation. We've made friends. One day we got together at the place of one of our Afghan veterans. He listened to me without knowing a word of Russian. I had no English at all. I told him of my experience in Afghanistan by gestures and mimics. When the interpreter came up, I asked Shad what he understood of my story. He retold everything almost word for word."

"Our good old faint-hearted bureaucrats still put up a lot of barriers. But the stereotypes are beginning to crumble. Hopefully, we shall have a chance to meet with the Americans more and to go visiting. The Americans told me that when their group was in its formative stage, they got a lot of letters from veterans many of whom were eager to come over and meet us."

"They have come over to help. How can they help?"

"With advice. They have gone through what we are experiencing now. They have a record of removing stresses. In our case, readaptation and readjustment are big problems, which include the POW issue. They can invite our boys over for prosthetic help.

"We had long and frank conversations. One of them, Larry, said he nearly committed suicide in 1982. That was a terrible story, very much like those I heard from those I knew. An acquaintance of mine went insane and was even admitted to mental asylum. It seemed they helped him, but he hanged himself in the end. He was haunted by scenes of violence. What we have gone through leaves scars. That is our cross which we are going to bear throughout our lives. That is our sin."



Robert Putzi and the staff of Invatekhnika cooperative compare notes

Professor **Charles FIGLEY,**
Purdue University,
Editor of the Journal of Traumatic Stress,
a Vietnam war veteran

"We can help Soviet Afghan veterans as people to people. On the bus tonight, an Afghan vet had an anxiety reaction as we call it. He had difficulty breathing and people thought he had a heart attack. I sat down with him in the dark, getting him to breathe regularly in terms of stress control, something I have done many times. It's something we hope we can share with our colleagues here so they can do it themselves."

"What was your first reaction when you learned that the Vietnam vets are coming to Moscow?"

"I thought it was a good idea. I had heard I was invited and I asked immediately who was coming and I felt that the delegation was appropriate. These people are sensitive to cultural differences between our countries and aware of the difficulties we are likely to face, so I felt that it was a good idea."

"What did you think of Soviet Afghan veterans before you came here?"

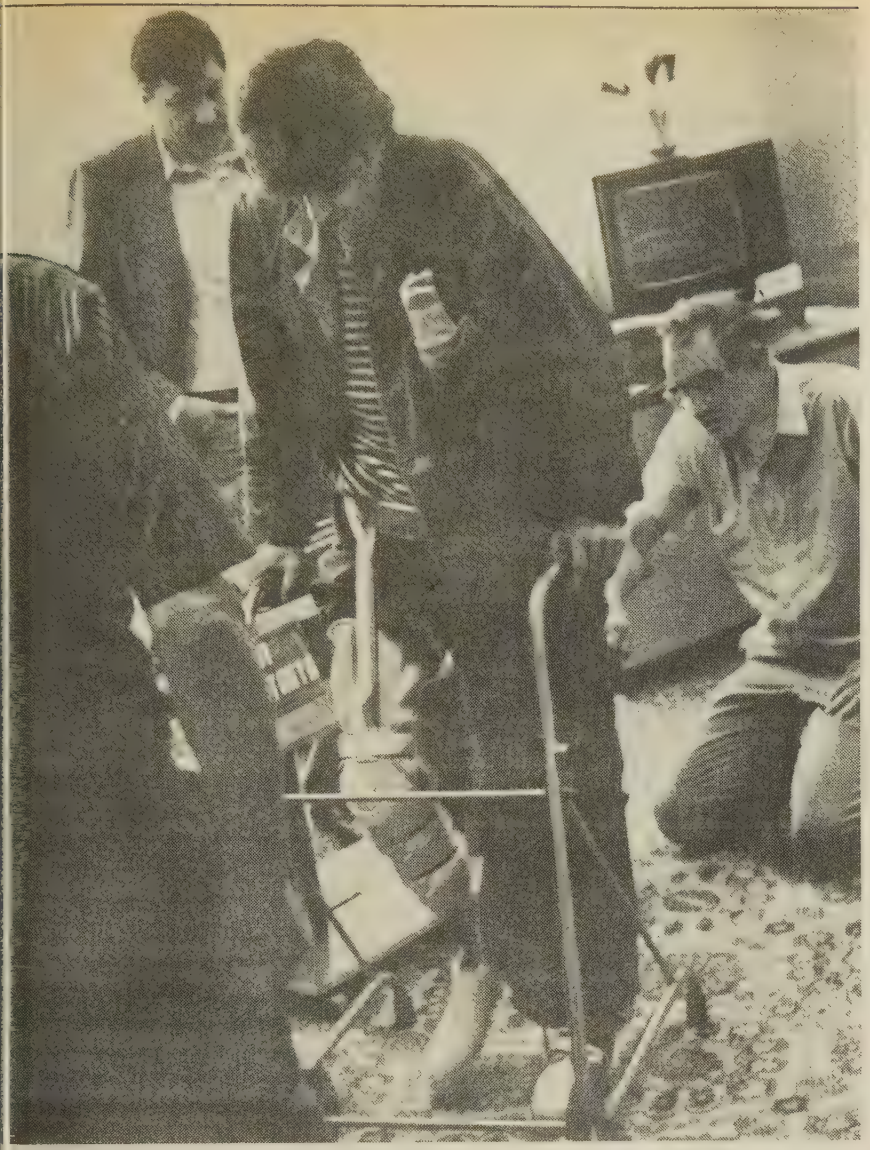
"My impression was that they probably were a lot like us. People don't make war, governments make war. I had had impressions of the Soviet government and the society which were different before I came. I explain this by changes your society is now going through."

"Was it hard for you to discuss with Soviet veterans their problems?"

"They were not open to us in the beginning. We were strangers to them. They were distrusting and suspicious. They later told us that they perceived Vietnam veterans as murderers. So there were moments in which we were uncertain about how it would go. But as we shared our perspectives we could see that we had much more in common than we had differences."

"What about the language barrier?"

"Because you've seen war, you have brotherhood and you understand one another, and that helps, but the languages and the cultures are vastly different, and it takes time to appreciate and understand these differences. Once these barriers began to fall and we understood more, the emotions took over. As a



American and Soviet specialists: trying to do their best

matter of fact, many of my Afghan friends believe that I can speak Russian, because I look in their eyes and when they are sad I look sad. I can sense what they feel and they know that.

"You have much more of an opportunity here in your country to help 'Afghans' than we have, and it's just a matter of giving information to those people who can use it and want to help."

Ruslan KHURIEV, chairman of the cooperative Invatekhnika

"The main purpose of our cooperative is to assist the social and labour rehabilitation of the disabled and provide them with wheelchairs and, if possible, with jobs. At first nobody was prepared to be our guarantor, but the Sverdlov district Party committee and the district YCL committee helped us a great deal."

"Do you employ disabled people?"

"Yes we do, half of our staff are disabled."

"Do you help those who were disabled in Afghanistan? How many people have you helped so far?"

"We made prostheses for 26 soldiers disabled in Afghanistan. Our total output to date is 50 prostheses, but we could have made a lot more. The trouble is that we do not have enough shopfloor. What we have at the moment has taken a great deal of effort to obtain and it is certainly not enough."

"Where does your funding come from? Who supports your cooperative?"

"It all began with a grant from the Soviet Red Cross Society. We got 50,000 rubles and spent the money on equipment we needed to manufacture prostheses. The manufacture of prostheses at the moment operates at a loss, because skilled labour requires high pay."

"How do your products compare with those made at factories run by the state?"

"As far as their design is concerned, the differences are very slight. The most important feature of our products is that they are tailor-made. We want to have satisfied customers, and that is the reason why people are seeking our services."

"Do you have subsidiaries in other cities?"

"We would very much like to open subsidiaries in Makhachkala, Kharkov, Tula and Gorky. At the moment we are helping the boys at the hospital in Krasnogorsk where they came from all over the country. As far as pay is concerned, that responsibility was assumed by the Fund for Social Inventions of Komsomolskaya Pravda."

"Was the meeting with the American veterans useful for you?"

"There were specialists in prostheses among the American group. We invited them to come over and had a very useful discussion. They are very outgoing and nice people. They promised to help us, to give us tool and technological consultations. We also met with representatives of ATW to discuss joint production of comfortable and light wheelchairs. We made many joint plans. The financial part of the deal will be taken care of by the Fund for Social Inventions and the Red Cross."

"Has the Soviet Defence Ministry helped you? Perhaps it pays part of the production costs?"

"We have not yet visited the ministry, but we have thought of offering it our services. We could extend a subscriber service to Moscow residents who were disabled in Afghanistan, that is, we shall be looking after everyone of them for, say, 5 years. That will make their lives much easier, I am sure. We are also hoping for some help from the Health Ministry who could at least provide us with some equipment."

Robert PUTZI, prosthetist

"We are trying to make a deal with the Invatekhnika cooperative. If we come to a mutual agreement, we shall be able to help them with our technology. The Soviet prosthetic care is about twenty years behind ours. We'd like to cooperate their technology and ours. We'd like to have an exchange programme so that Soviet technicians could come to the United States and we could come here again and to exchange ideas."

Diana GLASGOW, Earthstewards Network organization, head of the delegation

"For the last four years I've been arranging for special groups of American young people and teenagers to come to the Soviet Union. Actually, my interest in

the present mission grew out of my experience with those young people. Children will grow up, I thought, and may be called up to fight in a war.

"I was aware that Vietnam veterans had very many problems after their return from the war. The American people were not prepared to understand them. That was a tragic consequence of the Vietnam war. While 58,000 Americans were killed in action, at least that many committed suicide back home. Many had drug or alcohol problems. They returned to a country that turned a blind eye to their plight. So they began to form groups, helping each other psychologically.

"Early this year I asked some Afghan veteran friends of mine whether they would be interested to meet Vietnam veterans. They got very excited about it. Back home, I found that our veterans were equally excited at the prospect. They felt they had a great deal to say to each other. In our country, the leading specialists in prosthetic devices, wheelchairs and in psychological readjustment of Vietnam war veterans are Vietnam war veterans too.

"I think that the rapport between the Russian and American veterans was instantaneous. They have seen some aspects of life of which other people in their countries are completely unaware. When they talked with each other they found there were many differences in the wars, but their feelings upon returning home were the same."

Alexander POVSTEN, 27

"I was called up in 1979. Very soon our regiment was put on combat alert and sent to Afghanistan. On December 6, 1981, I was wounded and on December 8 I was admitted to hospital in Tashkent."

"What sort of wound did you get?"

"I was hit by a shell fragment. I was discharged from hospital in January 1982, but readmitted on many occasions later."

"How did you get along after the hospital?"

"At first all was well. I married and moved to Moscow. I worked full-time until 1986, but then my legs began to fail. I was hospitalized again and given a disability pension. After that I saw no end of trouble. They could not offer me any decent job. They would pay me peanuts for what it took a whole day to do. For nearly a year we had to subsist on 140 rubles a month, the wife, two kids and myself. A couple of months ago Nikolai called me and offered the job at the cooperative. It is only now that I began to feel that I am a man again and that I can be useful.

"The most striking thing for me after I returned was that the people here have no idea at all of what is going on there and just go about their business as if nothing is happening. You journalists began writing about this only a year ago, and even so you don't tell the whole truth, far from it. But then I got used to it. I got sick and tired of telling people about my experience."

"What was your attitude towards meeting the Americans?"

"I was sort of scared at first. I did not know what to say or how to behave, but in about a half-hour I understood that their problems are very much like ours."

Ruslan Khuriyev says that the most important thing is to give those disabled in Afghanistan jobs and wheelchairs.

"Don't you want to learn some English to be able to communicate with them better?"

"We managed to understand each other perfectly, but generally I would have learnt English with great pleasure. The trouble is that because of that shell shock my memory is not in the best shape."

* * *

"Kolya Chuvanov, Sasha Povsten and thousands of others...

What is the attitude of society to those whose fate it directed eight years ago and who paid with their lives or health for a decision that in my view should never have been taken?

A young lad who has just returned home from war said: "You don't grow older fighting in a war, you grow old."

To this day we still feel ill at ease about referring to our soldiers who fought in Afghanistan as veterans, although many of them aged many years over the few years or months they spent there.

We are talking of humanitarian values, the value of every human life, but at times we forget about these notions when we have to deal with one particular individual.

We are also talking of the humanization of politics, but very often this is a contradiction in terms in real life. How can we deal with that contradiction? That is no easy task.

The issue of POWs is one of such incredibly difficult problems.

The Soviet Union has said that it will be prepared to negotiate with any Afghan opposition group. One of the leaders of the so-called Peshawar Seven, Gailani, for his part, told our special correspondent that they "are prepared to hand over all the POWs to the U.S.S.R., but only through direct negotiations." The political objective is quite clear: the mujahedeen look upon the POWs as a pretext for entering into direct talks with the Soviet Union and thereby gaining recognition. The Soviet Union does not recognize them and it would rather have other partners at the talks. Those are political imperatives, but what about the human imperatives? The lives of our fellow countrymen are still at stake.

Humanitarian values, sympathy and mercy are making their way into our lives far too slowly.

The meeting of the Soviet and American veterans of recent wars reaffirmed the priority of humanitarian values over all others. Whatever the differences between the objectives pursued by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the United States in Vietnam may have been, both countries have drawn universal lessons from those two wars.

These lessons make us think hard of the inadmissibility of waging war on foreign territory for whatever reason. They remind us again that war spares no one as it cripples human beings morally and physically and very often gives them no chance of readapting to normal life.

The Vietnam syndrome is a coinage to which we, as well as Americans, have grown accustomed in recent years. Few are prepared to accept the term the "Afghanistan syndrome," though. I believe that we should speak of the war syndrome, a term I would use to describe the mental and physical state of many of those who have returned home from Afghanistan. They need care and understanding on the part of society at large more than anybody else. They need our care and understanding.

I open another letter. It came from Valentina Kondratyeva (the Kalinin region).

"My son has not written for two months. He was sent to Afghanistan in October 1987. Could you please help me in my inquiries..."

Not long ago came one more letter from Valentina Kondratyeva:

"At last I've got a letter from my son. Thank God they have been pulled out."

Galina Sidorova

Photos by V. Panov and A. Galeyev

Wanted: leadership

Alexander Didusenko

How splendid it is to see such hitherto completely rusty notions as self-government, self-financing, lease contract, co-ops, and pluralism coming back into daily use. As this process gains ground, there is an increasingly louder demand for people who can think and act in a new way.

Leadership wanted – such is the leitmotif of all contributions to the media, Moscow-based or provincial, describing competitions for new appointments and elections of Party functionaries, managerial executives, collective-farm chairmen, shop superintendents and team leaders.

So, wanted: leadership!

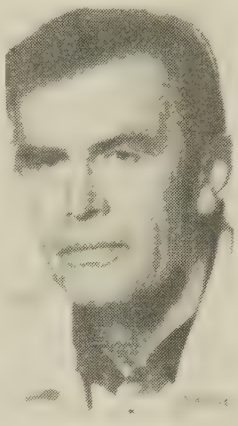
But, I hear you ask, what on earth for? Don't we have enough bosses as it is?

We certainly do! In fact, in executives per capita we have long led the world. Only this is a statistic that is more saddening than gratifying. Because quantity in this respect by no means spells quality. Because the command system, with its plethora of big bosses cut off from the immediate business and direct responsibility for the end result, plus the legion of little bosses the whole way down the pecking order, has resulted, as we see today, in shortages of meat, butter, milk, sugar, medicines, schools and hospitals and, in the final analysis, of that same sense of responsibility and humanity.

Hence the need, in the process of perestroika, for leaders who are knowledgeable and authoritative, not afraid to make decisions on their own initiative without waiting for instructions from their superiors, and capable of taking responsibility for these decisions not only before their superiors, but also, and especially, before the grassroots, with whom and for whom they work. That kind of leader does not command but persuades, does not coerce but leads, does not fence himself off with red tape but communicates daily with the people he leads.

To our regret, independent thinking, fidelity to principle, and initiative were nowhere during the chapter of the cult and the period of stagnation. Indeed, readiness to communicate directly with the grassroots was not infrequently dismissed as "an attempt to win cheap popularity." Obedience and carrying out instructions to the letter were valued. One was not to reason why, but to do, to keep to the pecking order, and not stick his neck out. The consequences are still being felt. One cannot forget Moscow factory worker Surkov's impassioned call at the 19th Communist Party Conference to pay more attention to the training of executives.

I think elaboration is necessary here. Ths issue is not just one of training; besides training, it is also one of spotting and promoting all who are capable of excelling in democratic competition, who can rise above mediocrity and lead others. Because a leader cannot be appointed. He emerges through his own efforts, and he must by his decisions, behaviour and way of life continually reassert his right to be leader. Finally, the issue is one of creating the conditions essential for the natural selection of leaders.



...and a machinery for resignation

What are these conditions? The experience gained so far in promoting democracy allows us to identify at least two factors. Firstly, openness in leadership is a sine qua non. Only openness, glasnost, ensures the promotion of the deserving and does away with the danger of a cult big or small. Secondly, an effective machinery is required for resignation, one that would bolster the prestige of democratic power, offer those no longer in their prime to bow out with dignity, and rid us of the incompetent.

This machinery, as we see, is beginning to work. At the latest Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and at the sessions of the U.S.S.R. and Russian Federation Supreme Soviets certain Party and government dignitaries asked, on reflection, to relieve them of their posts. Although a most indicative fact, this is only half the battle.

I rack my brains but cannot recall a single instance of a top executive of a U.S.S.R. or republican department to blame for shortages, wasted billions or ecological disaster having voluntarily and openly resigned. No, I can't remember a single case!

True, it is not often so simple. After all, some are no longer able to go back to being ordinary engineers, agronomists, doctors or schoolteachers. They are unaccustomed to that, behind the times. And then one must appreciate the loss not only of office, but also of the many official and unofficial perks, which in the context of the ubiquitous shortages mean far more than even pay cuts. Clearly, Academician Arbatov was a thousand times right when, in a newspaper article, he proposed easing the way out for square pegs in round holes in these times of perestroika, and not stinting the money involved as such an investment would bring only profits.

Several years ago I chanced to attend a lecture given by a professor at a U.S. college of management. Some of his remarks, which I jotted down, run:

"There are no bad workers, there are only bad overseers."

"There are bad overseers only if there is a bad manager, and there is a bad manager only if the firm is badly run."

"Whatever the job, 80 per cent of success depends on the manager, only 20 per cent on his subordinates."

Someone interjected: "You have it good, you have everything going well, but we have problems all around."

"But it's great when you can identify your problems," the professor promptly retorted. "Coping with big problems gives big returns. But it's bad when you don't see your problems. That's stagnation."

That's what we see around us nowadays. Big problems are rife everywhere. Will we be able to cope? It all depends on how things are organized. So let me end as I began – wanted: leadership!

And a machinery for resignation.

Towards a healthier economy

The theoretical model of the socialist economy, created and elaborated by Lenin, underwent crippling distortions at Stalin's hands. A new model of our economy is the subject of the discussion below with **Valentin Kashin,** D.Sc. (Economics).

New Times. At the moment we are reappraising our history and economic theory in order to identify the origins of our mistakes and return to the source of genuine knowledge. Again and again we return to Lenin's works. What does our experience suggest?

Valentin Kashin. Our analysis of the previous stages of the nation's development suggests that the economy has not been developing spontaneously, but rather on the basis of theoretical concepts and plans. As we look at them now through the perspective of history we find it easier to understand why the changes now under way in the country are so complex and why they are so badly needed. Economists will have to work very hard to abandon preconceptions and clichés, which have very often been imposed on them, and conduct a thorough analysis of Lenin's economic ideas without any deletions. We must realize now for the sake of scholarly integrity that some of these ideas have been reviewed in the past. Let us consider for instance the model of a socialist economy drawn up by Lenin in the period immediately preceding the October revolution. That model assigned the state an exclusive role in conducting socialist reforms in the economy and running it on a planned basis. Under that model the state effectively assumed complete control of the economy.

It was assumed that the whole nation would turn into one huge office or factory where everyone would draw equal pay for equal work. As we look back on it now with the benefit of hindsight, that model appears somewhat naive, but in pre-revolutionary days it reflected a popular idea of a just and prosperous society. It went to show that such a society was not a Utopia, but a realistic proposition and in this alone it proved to be a factor in rallying and mobilizing the people in the period just before the revolution.

The revolution eventually took place. Soon afterwards Lenin observed that it is more pleasant and useful to go through the "experience of the revolution" than to write about it, but nonetheless he viewed the task of improving the theoretical model of a socialist economy as crucial. In the wake of the revolution, and especially in the spring and summer of 1918, when a period of peace finally set in, Lenin advanced entirely new notions, clarifying and enlarging on both the day-to-day tasks of Soviet government and the very concept of a new economy and new industrial relations of a socialist nature. He called for an extensive development of market relations, normal economic ties between cities and rural areas, and material incentives for those whose productivity was increased. The start of the civil war and the foreign intervention, however, ousted that altered economic model in favour of War Communism, a model that provided for complete centralization and sought to put an end to all forms of free turnover. Market relations did not disappear though, nor could they; they merely degenerated into more primitive forms such as the "bagging" of goods. War Communism also sought to attain a truly communist distribution of goods but in real life it introduced levelling and coercion, relying on a military rather than economic alliance of the working class and peasant farmers. That system, as we know now, proved effective in those extreme circumstances, but it could not work in peace time and was therefore replaced by the New Economic Policy, or the NEP.

N.T. There is obviously no need to dwell on the NEP or Lenin's plan for cooperatives here, as a great deal has recently been written and said about both. Readers interested in economic questions probably have some idea of them, the more so as the basic approach of the NEP is now part of the new economic concept adopted recently.

V.K. That is correct, but I would nevertheless like to call attention to a crucial aspect of that model adopted when Lenin was at the helm. The model contrived to bring opposites together and combine elements that seemed incompatible. It is enough to recall that the decisions to introduce the NEP and institute GOSPLAN, the State Planning Committee, were taken at the same time. In his report on the substitution of natural taxation schemes for surplus appropriation at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in the spring of 1921, Lenin defined a notion that is crucial to any understanding of his renewed concept of socialism evolved during the civil war and transition to peace:

"Theoretically speaking, state monopoly is not necessarily the best system from the standpoint of the interests of socialism."

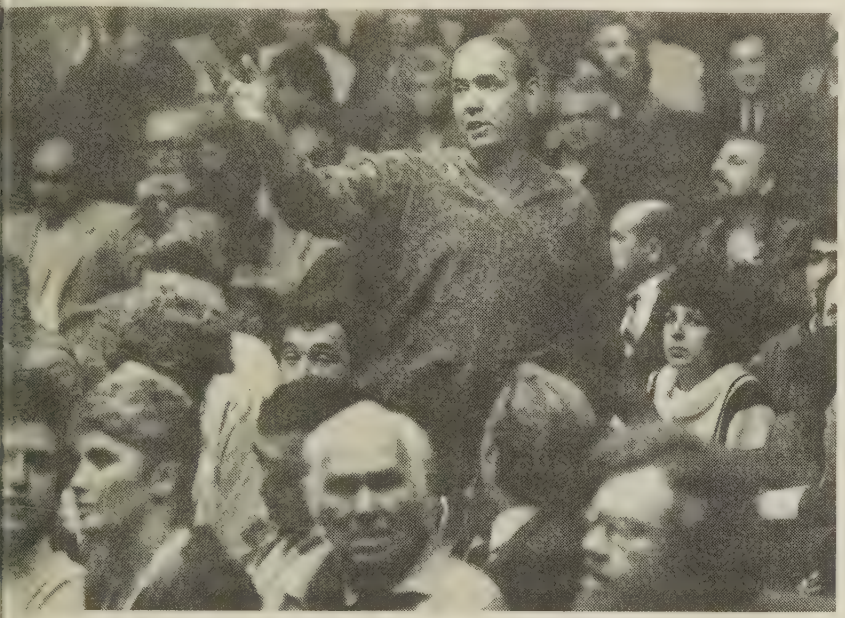
N.T. This comes as something of a surprise, but not, I suppose, to a specialist...

V.K. You would not have been able to come across that quote until recently, no matter how hard you tried. Since the days of Stalin it has been unofficially censored. I used it last year in a contribution to the journal Voprosy Ekonomiki, the first time that the quote had appeared in an academic publication.

Going back to the bringing together of opposites, it must be said that Lenin defined a theoretical model according to which a socialist economy must be a synthesis of relations based on state ownership, planned management on a national scale and relations based on the independence of individual enterprises with respect to property. Lenin believed that cost-accounting and self-financing would be the key to bringing these opposites together, but unfortunately this failed to happen for a number of reasons.

N.T. These reasons have now been thoroughly analyzed. Let us not consider here Stalin's deviations from Lenin's theory and all his gross, and at times, criminal distortions, but did he have an economic model of his own? Perhaps it was his model that generated the top-heavy command-and-administrative system of management that rejected any initiative and independence other than at the centre of power? That is a very topical question at the moment as Stalin's supporters are invoking the rapid industrial growth of the 1930s, and it must be conceded that there was indeed growth at that time...

V.K. Yes, certainly, it was a period of industrial growth, yet it would not be entirely correct to say that it was achieved in spite of Stalin's policies rather than because of them. That would be to put it too simplistically. There were definite reasons for the success of the industrialization of the country. Let us look at them. The economic development of the nation was accompanied by terrible imbalances, as means of achieving economic ends were chosen unscrupulously. The industrial might of the country was generated at the expense of peasant farmers,



heated discussions, cooperatives blaze new trails in the economy and revive the undeservedly forgotten practices of old.

Photo by V. Korneyev

canals and giants of industry were built literally on the bones of people serving sentences in labour camps, and that is something a true Marxist could not have visualized in the most appalling nightmare. Moreover, it has now been demonstrated that there were alternatives to that brutal policy, and that they could have been used to advantage.

N.T. In one of his articles, Otto Lácis demonstrates beyond any doubt that the course of industrialization was not quite as victorious as acounts of it would have led us believe until recently. Stalin's interference to prod things on even disrupted the course of the first five-year development period. Industry failed to reach planned targets in subsequent development periods as well, however ostentatiously "economic success" under Stalin may have been vaunted.

V.K. Stalin's economic concepts derived from the delusion that not only people, but scientific laws as well were subservient to him. They clearly did not derive from a profound understanding of Marxist theory. This is borne out, for instance, by the textbook on political economic science published in 1954, after Stalin's death. Summing up the above, it can be said that the command-and-administrative system of economic management established in the 1930s is not an objective law of socialist development. It is a result of vulgar and authoritarian ideas of economics dictated by Stalin.

N.T. You mentioned the textbook written under Stalin's "direction" but, after all, its basic ideas, albeit slightly modified and edited from time to time, worked their way into every textbook over the past thirty years until very recently...

V.K. The trouble is that the textbook did indeed reflect the actual state of affairs over a very long period. The Stalinist system of economic management, in spite of all the attempts to introduce sounder managerial practice (especially those undertaken by Nikita Khrushchev) has remained unchanged in its basic parameters almost to this day. It was absolutely incapable of inspiring enthusiasm for work on a nationwide scale (something it had done in the 1930s), or getting people to make more effort. As a result what we now term "stagnation" pervaded the economic machinery of the nation.

N.T. Were there any attempts to change the situation that had emerged in economics?

V.K. Speaking in a recent interview, the secretary of the Economics Section of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Dr Aganbegyan said that a group of leading economists sent a letter to the then leadership of the country in 1969 warning against a decline in socio-economic development. In reply they were accused of trying to smear the nation and failing to understand the policy of the Communist Party. An order was issued not to write such letters in future.

It is sad to recall all this now, but that is something that we must remember in order to grasp the entire measure of our responsibility now.

N.T. This seems to be the right moment to direct our discussion to the present. What is your view of the new theoretical model of the economy? What features peculiar to it reflect the changes under way in the country?

V.K. To put it briefly, our socialist economy should rely on a plurality of forms of public property ranging from local property in charge of local governments to manufacturing systems for which central managerial bodies would be responsible. It must also rely on cooperative property, including, naturally, that of collective farms, and some forms of individual and personal property on the means of production.

The economic structure in the making now provides for a large measure of independence for manufacturing units in dealing with day-to-day economic management, while the centre retains strategic functions. Market relations are becoming an inalienable part of the economic structure, and a transition is being made to full cost-accounting and self-financing in real terms. A ramified system of credits and finance is emerging.

The model provides for strict compliance with the principle of distribution according to the amount and quality of work, and the extension of that principle to worker collectives as well as to individual workers. It also provides for encouraging competition between enterprises and, in general, encouraging socialist enterprise.

That definition of the issue amounts to returning in principle to what Lenin envisaged.

Interviewer
VALERY MAYOROV

Tapping the potential of the youth

Whither the "informals"?

Nikolai Andreyev

What have come to be known as the "informals" are no new phenomenon. There were the hippies, the punks, the rockers, the metallists, the fanats... Although they shocked their elders by their dress and behavior, the general attitude to them was one of amused tolerance: "They'll grow out of it," it was said. But it is not of this category of informal groups that we speak here.

Today socially active associations of young people have come to the fore – political clubs, political history societies, and philosophical groups. Indicative of the sentiments of their members are the names of these associations: Perestroika, Community, Tocsin, Alliance for the Defence of Perestroika, The Leningrad Cause, Synthesis, Dialectics, Extramural Socio-Political Club, Forepost, Social Initiative Club, Leninists, Action Detail, We Internationalists, Cultural Democratic Movement. Associated with these are groups belonging to the powerful Cultural environment movement.

No one has greater confidence than these young people in the reality of the changes taking place in the country. The same young people whose faces but recently expressed boredom, indifference, resignation and, sometimes, also anger and cynicism, now take a different view of the world. They have become active, they demand the right to influence developments, to have a say in the resolving of problems which until recently were considered the concern of a narrow circle of individuals.

They venture into hitherto unbroken ground: they try to get their own representatives elected to administrative bodies, as the Leningrad Salvation group did when, during the last elections to the Leningrad Soviet, it wanted to register a candidate of their own.

What is the attitude of the general public to this eruption of activity?

Some pretend not to see it. Others are ready to clamp down on the inordinate zeal of the youngsters, seeing in it a sort of threat to themselves. Charges of anarchism, dilettantism, demagogy, and attempts to shake the foundations of society are levelled. Charges even of parasitism and anti-social behavior!

But what can be qualified as anti-social behavior? The volunteer work done in their spare time by the "ecology of culture" proponents in Leningrad and the surrounding region? Educational activity? Historical research? Or are some people disquieted by these sentiments voiced in one of the many appeals addressed by the informals to the municipal authorities: "We call on the city and district Soviets of people's deputies to take decisive action to restructure their own administration in a way that would lead to the restructuring of the public consciousness as well. The people of Leningrad must see themselves not only as disciplined workers and taxpayers, as consumers of the good things of life, but also as equal and responsible residents of our common HOME." This common home is Leningrad. Or perhaps the holding of unplanned literary festivals, evenings, lectures, excursions is regarded as a protest of some kind? For example, the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Dostoyevsky's first arrival in St.Petersburg; the staging of a performance based on the works of Daniel Kharms in the backyard of the house where the satirist lived; the dramatic production in memory of the Narodnaya Volya held on March 1 in the Mikhailov Gardens; or the poetry festival at the Fontanny House where Anna Akhmatova lived?

Nevertheless the activities of the informals are indeed a protest. A protest against spiritual poverty, the bureaucrat mentality, the mechanical execution of orders. The informals protest when the rich interiors of old Leningrad houses are allowed to run to seed, when restoration work is done carelessly, when at a time of an acute housing shortage vast sums and manpower resources are wasted on the construction of a flood-control dam the effectiveness of which specialists considered highly dubious.

"We do not want our actions to be seen as a challenge to the authorities," says Mikhail Medvedyev, leader of the St. Petersburg Group. "When we rush in to save a building from being razed we are only doing our civic duty. As we understand it. By our actions we are demonstrating our dedication to the ideals of perestroika."

Unfortunately, however, the very existence of the informals is seen as a challenge. Attempts are made to limit and even to suppress, the movement. But what can talking to the informals "from positions of strength" lead to? It could drive the movement underground. The youth are quite capable of withdrawing into an autonomous existence. They have their own music which they record and circulate without resorting to the services of the Melodia firm. They make their own movies, organize their own theatres and produce their own plays. They actually have their own literature, their own press.

Fortunately, however, the young people do not propose to wall themselves off from the adult world.

"Today one cannot stand aloof from political life, one cannot but be concerned about the danger of the brakes being put on perestroika, of a return to the period of stagnation," reads an appeal issued by the Federation of Social Associations. "One cannot live in an atmosphere of fear and hopelessness. The independent democratic movement wants to be in the forefront of the fighters for the restoration of legality and the Leninist norms of the life of socialist society." Is there anything alarming about that?

The members of informal groups go in for politics because they are dedicated to perestroika, to the interests of the country, the people. Whether the people are free or oppressed by authoritarianism and bureaucracy is not a matter of indifference to them. Neither are they indifferent to whether or not our country's prestige is high, whether or not it behaves with dignity in the international arena. The informals are willy-nilly becoming theoreticians. If only the bureaucrats know what a profound analysis is being made of their nature and origins, what classics of Marxism and Leninism are being studied in order to work out the strategy and tactics of the struggle

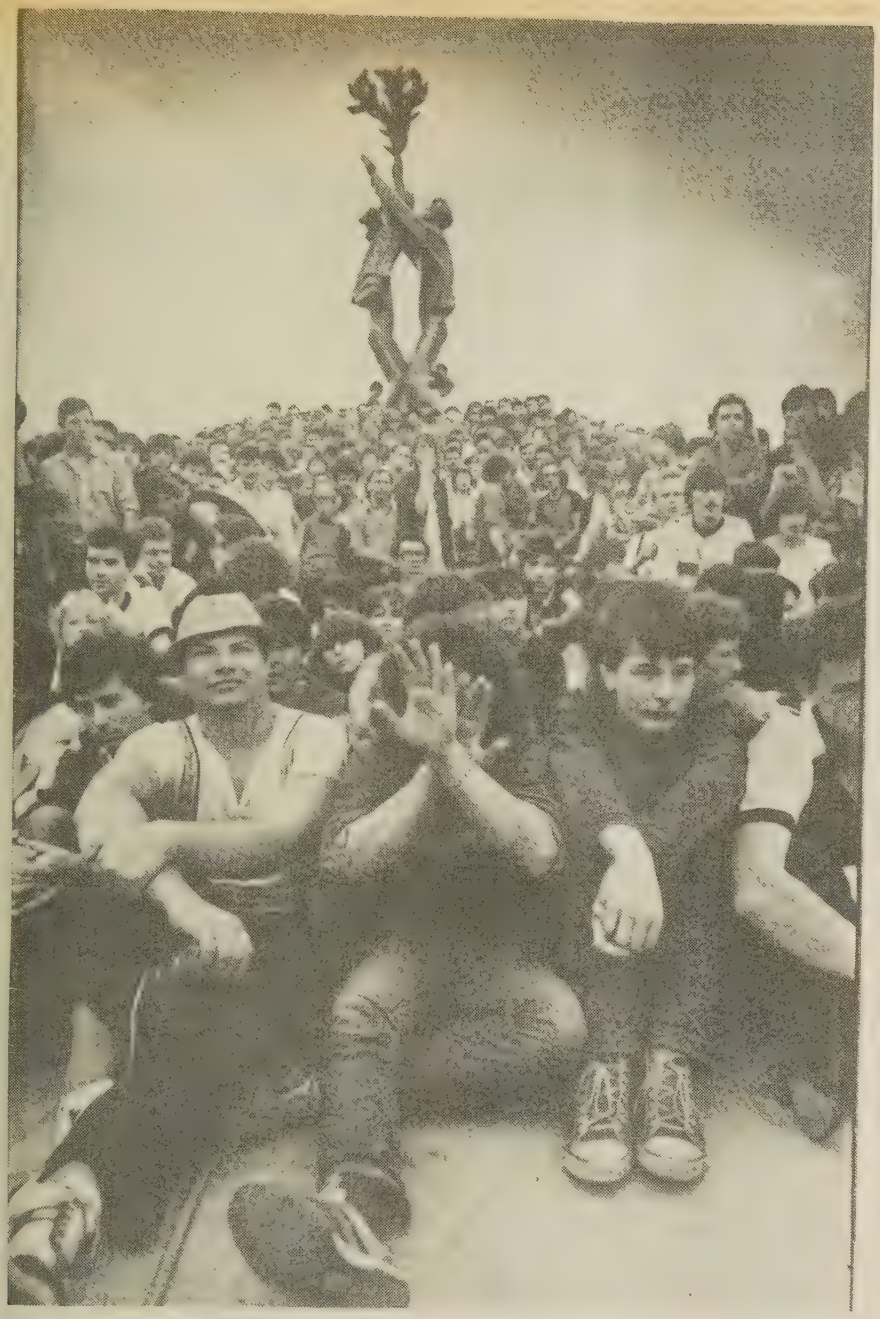


Photo by I. Stomakhin

against conservatism! If only the office-holders could hear the heated debates going on about their political sympathies and antipathies!

The need to understand

Why, then, are they not understood and, hence, not accepted? A characteristic feature of the informals is that they question everything and insist on voicing their own opinions about everything. They have energy and initiative. These are young people the like of whom we have never seen before. I do not maintain that the youth are always right, but neither will I agree that the reverse is true. In my opinion those Party functionaries are greatly mistaken who see the unpredictable ideas and behavior of the youth as being motivated exclusively by destructive and unlawful intentions.

One cannot help thinking at times how nice it would be if the youth were preoccupied exclusively with collecting stamps, dancing and singing in home talent circles, doing physical exercises to build their health, and being front runners on the production line. In a word, if they engaged solely in what their elders consider to be useful and, preferably, quiet, not noisy occupations. But demonstrations with unsanctioned slogans? Doubts as to whether administrative and economic decisions are warranted? Collection of signatures to petitions? All this is not for you, boys and girls, you are immature, you still lack wisdom and experience, and, in general, first tidy yourselves up and then tiptoe into inner sanctums where you will be told that besides rights, you have many, very many, obligations.

From this it would follow that youth is something like a waiting room. But while waiting the ardor of youth can be spent, and physical and mental atrophy can set in.

Asked who should yield, the children or the parents when misunderstandings arise between them, the well-known artist and thinker Sviatoslav Roerich replied: "The parents." Why? "Because by giving in they set an example that influences the young generation far more than by laying down the law. The positive example is always educational," he said.

Yes, the youth are often wanting in depth of self-analysis, they lack experience, restraint, a sense of proportion and a sense of humour. The young also have their prejudices. They do not always make a point of trying to convince their opponents by reasoned argument, but are rather inclined to irritate the opponent by their freakish behavior. But is it right to exaggerate these failings (which are bound to pass as they grow older) in order to save ourselves the trouble of really trying to understand them?

The functionaries have their own worries!

During a recent visit to Leningrad I telephoned to Vladimir Katenev, First Secretary of the City Committee of the Young Communist League. Our conversation was rather symptomatic.

"I am interested in problems relating to informal youth associations," I began. "I would like to discuss the problem of the relations between the YCL and the informals with you."

"You newsmen are always on the lookout for 'juicy information,'" he replied. "But we have masses of youth problems to deal with and the informals are not the most important of them. At the moment we are preparing a Young Pioneer parade, but for some reason the press seems none too eager to give it coverage."

"Interest in the informals is understandable," I said. "They are gaining ground."

"We don't have a free moment here. You ought to see what a tight schedule we have. There's a staff meeting at ten. Then a conference on the creative arts organizations. After that I have to be at the Party city committee. Then the YCL regional committee is to meet. I don't even have time for lunch. Since our 20th Congress we, YCL functionaries have been working ourselves literally to death, but you people don't want to notice it!" There was genuine bitterness in his voice.

It is possible that I chose a rather inopportune moment for my phone call. I could not escape the impression that the YCL Secretary was avoiding the issue. However, although we did not actually meet, I am ready to believe that Vladimir is indeed wholly dedicated to his work. But what is disquieting is this: for de-

cades YCL functionaries devoted themselves selflessly to their work, yet we found ourselves dealing with more and more young people whose hearts were armour-plated with indifference and whose eyes looked out at the world apathetically, cynically, bleakly. The ranks swelled of the army of the "fed-ups," i.e., those who were fed up with everything, who would not participate in parades such as that Vladimir and his colleagues were now preparing.

Indicative is this admission by one informal: "Two years ago when I did not go in for politics and didn't even know exactly what the word meant, my view on the world was abstract, one might even say, semi-Soviet. Although I was not particularly critical of things. But when I joined the "ecology of culture" movement my eyes opened, I began sincerely to believe in the policy of the Party."

It is sometimes said that the youth have moved away from the YCL. That is partly true. But it is also true that the YCL apparatus has moved away from the youth. It gradually began to resemble a cyclist pedalling away on an exerciser: on the face of it – hard work, dogged determination. The real thing, all the way to the sweat on his brow. But getting nowhere.

An organization makes sense if it expresses the aspirations of its members. That's the first thing. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly if it upholds their rights. In this the YCL apparatus has little to show.

To champion the youth means to champion the ideas that inspire them at the moment. For this the YCL functionaries are, as a rule, not prepared. Nor are they concerned with such things. There are too many spineless yes-men among them, people who lack firm convictions of their own.

Half-way contact?

At this point I told myself: "Stop! Are you not going too far? There are unquestionably no few functionaries in the YCL who are sensitive to the mood of the membership of the organization. Some of them are active and energetic. For instance, the Oktyabrsky district committee of the YCL in Leningrad has focussed its attention on the informals. With its support there now function socio-political clubs and fan clubs; young actors of the Bolshoi Drama Theatre in Leningrad have established a mini-theatre in a basement and actors of the Kirov Theatre have put on a rock ballet entitled "Masquerade Ball."

It cannot be said that the YCL leading bodies completely ignore the informal trends. They do respond to the new among the youth, but this response is somehow narrow, one-sided. Let some students express the desire to work during their annual vacations, to establish a youth housing cooperative, let some big construction undertaking be started or young specialists embark on some technical project and before long there springs up a whole hierarchy of YCL headquarters – district, city, regional, republican and all-Union – staffed with smart young men with YCL badges in their lapels, seated at desks, with a fountain pen in one hand and a telephone receiver in the other. All looking very busy. "Functioning on YCL" – there is a say among YCL functionaries.

Of course changes are under way in the YCL too. The atmosphere is becoming more democratic, you can now address YCL Central Committee Secretaries by their first names. And they are younger than they used to be.

There is less paper work. There is less bombast in speeches. The report to the 20th YCL Congress delivered by Victor Mironenko was extremely critical and self-critical, and gave a rather profound analysis of the state of affairs in the YCL. It seemed that a powerful impulse of renewal had been given the League, which promised a change in the attitude of the youth to the YCL.

However, this has not happened. On the contrary, more and more young people are joining informal associations. Theoretical studies by the informals themselves analyzing the movement are appearing. They probe down to the very roots of current developments. They are experiencing an urgent need to take the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin off the shelf, and study them in order to understand what is happening today. They get together to discuss things. Their historico-political clubs have study programmes which include some of the most serious subjects. Classes meet two or three times a week. Such activity and profundity were totally unknown to the YCL system of political education.

The emergence of informal youth associations is the logical result of the development of the democratic principles of socialist society. The youth have been stirred into action, they are becoming politically-minded, and this is an encouraging aspect of perestroika. The attempts of the YCL to retain its monopoly of the youth are illusory. Not to speak of the fact that monopoly in any sphere of life leads to stagnation, fossilization, scholasticism. The mental atmosphere in society today is not conducive to efforts to lump together the wide variety of complex, multiform social processes. The informals do not set themselves in opposition to the YCL, they are simply different. Which, however, does not entitle us to brand them as alien. They are not alien.

New wine in old wineskins

The rapid increase in the number of informal associations could actually – strange though that may seem – serve to strengthen the YCL: for when a competitor appears you are compelled, whether you wish it or not, to analyze your weaknesses, mistakes and failures. In the case of the YCL, however, the appearance of a competitor, instead of prompting a closer, more critical look at its place in society, evoked annoyance.

Near the Frunzenskaya metro station in Moscow stands the new Youth Palace. Its construction was a painful process; it took some ten years to build. One glance at it is enough to tell that this is a monument to the Brezhnev epoch. It bears all the earmarks – pseudo-monumentalism, pomposity, windowdressing. The Palace is highly suitable for gala events, celebration meetings, and concerts. It is hardly likely to attract young folk to drop in for a cosy evening. True, the staff of the Palace does its best to draw the youth by organizing exhibitions, meetings with public personalities, discussions. But it all bears the stamp of formality.

By way of illustration let me briefly describe a discussion on the subject of bureaucracy I attended there. In the first place, admission was only by invitation. My press card was examined closely before I was admitted. On the stage sat experts on the problem under discussion. They had their say, after which the chairman, a young man from the YCL City Committee, gave the floor to anyone who wished to speak, reading out the names from a list before him. Judging by their smooth standardized speeches it was quite clear that they all had been prepared in advance. However, a few unplanned speakers did manage to get to the microphone. But as soon as they began to say something "out of line," something with a political point, the chairman interrupted them and hustled them away from the microphone. Nevertheless a real discussion had begun, people stated their views, the desire for debate was patent. But soon the chairman looked pointedly at his watch and announced: "That's all. Our time is up." He had done his job.

Is it surprising, then, that the young people prefer basements where they can debate freely, stage and take part in plays, recite poetry, dance, discuss problems of war and peace, draw blueprints for a just social order, and work out political programmes. In a word, where the young people live a full-blooded life and are not engaging in purely formal "activity."

The movement of informals is a natural offshoot of the political process under way today. Their very existence is a reflection of the potential for spontaneous activity inbuilt in the youth, evidence of the flourishing of initiative, the strengthening of pluralism. Any attempt to clamp down on that movement can only cause disappointment, apathy, and even resistance to any measures aimed at improving the social climate. Is that what we want?

The confidence crisis over

Having accepted the resignation of Zbigniew Messner's cabinet, Poland's Sejm has endorsed Mieczyslaw Rakowski as Chairman of the Council of Ministers by a majority vote. The new Premier announced that he intended to form a "coalition government with wider political representation than hitherto."

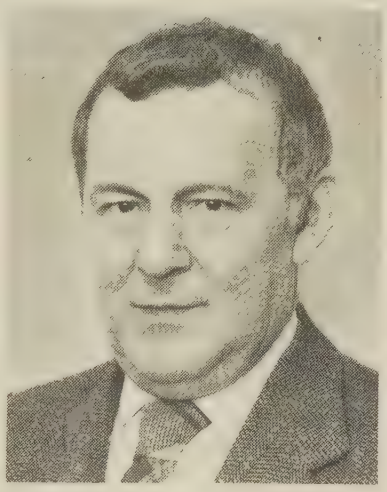
Our reporter talks to government press spokesman, Minister **Jerzy Urban** who has retained his post

New Times. The subject of our talk is suggested by the unusual situation which Poland faced at the end of September and the beginning of October. New Times has reported the reasons that led to the vote of no confidence in Zbigniew Messner's government.* But it may first be useful briefly to reiterate them.

Jerzy Urban. The principal reasons are economic. The underlying tenor of the criticism of the government's performance was that the economic reform was stalling, the government lacked consistency, and the reform was divorced from the government's economic policy. "All in all, the reform was being reduced to 'art for art's sake...'" Finally, the government suffered a setback when it raised prices.

N.T. Wasn't that because people had not been prepared for such a radical move?

J.U. I believe that no society would ever be prepared for an increase in prices. It was essential to treat the new economic policy as a whole, of which the increase in prices is only a part. Though mind you, the public "swallowed" the price rises. What the ensuing response boiled down to was more pay claims, which resulted in wages outstripping prices. This immediately affected the market. Once the money supply exceeds the supply of goods, what you get is empty shops, long queues and frustration. The situation has created fertile soil for widespread scepticism about the reform, the upshot of the government's initiatives and overall prospects for Poland's economy.



Mieczyslaw Rakowski

A credibility gap emerged, and the government resigned. That, briefly, is what happened.

N.T. New Times has reported some of the new Premier's views. When he held the office of Vice Marshal in the Sejm, in a New Times interview* Mieczyslaw Rakowski identified courage as one of the essential qualities for a politician. Now he has himself set an example of political courage. What other qualities, under the circumstances, are indispensable for a high government official in today's Poland?

J.U. That reminds me of being asked to draw a portrait of the ideal woman. It's quite obvious that no one person can have all the qualities in question. But, joking apart, I believe that a Polish Premier today should get on equally well politically with East and West, and have administrative ability coupled with imagination and foresight. He should also be extremely consistent in pursuing his policies. Our problem, incidentally, has been in the methods used in carrying our policies through, rather than in the policies themselves. Moreover, a Premier should be capable of putting forward ambitious economic goals. Apart from this, he should be skilled in public relations and conducting meaningful negotiations and debates – no one can be a leader in Poland without these qualities. He should know how to pick his staff and, last but not least, be telegenic – a must for a politician today. In fact, the list could even be expanded.

N.T. Wasn't it Rakowski whom you had in mind when listing the qualities of "the ideal Premier"?

J.U. Yes, to some extent. Indeed, I included some qualities of his. But, when assembling "a cluster of virtues," I certainly meant an ideal of sorts.

N.T. Still, I would like you to expand on the personality of the newly elected Chairman of the Council of Ministers. As far as I now, you are linked with Mieczyslaw Rakowski by many years of collaboration in journalism. What is your private opinion of him? What traits, perhaps less well known, could you indicate?

J.U. That's rather a tricky question. Indeed, you cannot expect a government spokesman to talk about a Premier with the same ease and facility as about another colleague. But I'll try to identify some of his less conspicuous traits. He is sensitive, receptive and emotional. He is capable of being fired by ideas. But what I see as his most important quality is a profound sense of history. He thinks in historical terms.

N.T. That is, he sees things dialectically, as a process, rather than as isolated events?

J.U. Exactly. But as for his weaknesses, in my view he is too conscious of the transience of things.

N.T. Don't you see that as a stimulus to make one's day as full as possible?

*Please turn to our issues No. 39 and No. 41 for 1988.

*See N.T. No. 10/88.

What lies in store?

J.U. Certainly, I agree. But I see it as a failing, because this quality is rather painful.

Besides, I think Mieczyslaw Rakowski is credulous. This quality is certainly rather appealing, but not, perhaps, in a Premier.

N.T. What do you make of Rakowski's proclaimed commitment to a broader coalition and greater openness?

J.U. This means that the Premier intends to turn to different public figures outside the sphere that traditionally controlled the government.

N.T. That is, he plans to put an end to reshuffling the same pieces on the chessboard?...

J.U. Yes, but that is not all. Governments were formed from the ranks of the PUWP, the allied parties, and non-party people who consider themselves allies and advocates of the policy being pursued. Now the idea is to try also to admit people to the cabinet who are not supporters of the PUWP, people holding other views, but who can be described as pragmatic moderates seeking to contribute to the common effort to improve the quality of life in Poland. It could include Catholic and, generally, Christian clergy. In other words, those who used to be called the moderate opposition but considered themselves independents, though they were not, for they still relied on various forces of one kind or another. But I don't expect this initiative to bear early fruit. Rather, it is a declaration of intent. In the second half of October, round-table meetings are to take place, and the moderate opposition will participate in them. It is to be expected that before starting to search for common ground, these forces may declare that they want first to negotiate a change in the form of government in Poland, i.e., new arrangements in political life – and only then participation in the government: I say this on the strength of my awareness of the dominant mood there. But it may be the case as well that some members of these circles will enter the government, which will make for the broader coalition and openness of which the Premier has spoken in the Sejm. The positive element here is that first and foremost there would be an influx of new ideas into the government, and its credibility would be enhanced among those who have hitherto either been indifferent or opposed to the initiatives put forward by the state authorities.

N.T. You don't exclude former Solidarity people from "the circles" you've mentioned?

J.U. Of course I don't exclude **the people** from Solidarity. For practically all members of the constructive opposition have either belonged to or supported Solidarity. In 1981 the movement was so broad that virtually everyone outside the traditional sphere of recruitment for government has a Solidarity record. Even Alfred Miodowicz – the leader of the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance and a member of the Central Committee Politburo of the PUWP, has such record, along with other public figures.

N.T. It is clear that neither the new leader (however courageous and decisive), nor the new government (however competent, go-ahead and energetic) is a panacea for crises and setbacks, especially in the current situation in Poland. What objective prerequisites do you see for resolving the crisis?

J.U. By objective prerequisites you probably mean those independent of the government. For example, a number of circles in the West drifting towards normalizing economic relations with Poland. But the problems are equally objective. The major one may be the state of public consciousness: mistrust, frustration, pessimism. Inconsistency in carrying out the reform has told to some extent on the results.

This kind of so-called psychology is also much in evidence. For instance, 72 per cent of adult Poles believe that a person cannot be laid off even if his job is absolutely unnecessary. Asked whether pay should be differentiated in accordance with the quality of the work done the majority said: "Yes, the difference should be more substantial." When specifying the degree, they indicated a ratio of 1 to 3. At present the gap is much wider at many enterprises.

N.T. I think the notorious wage-levelling, the belief, nourished for many years, that guaranteed pay would be given anyway whatever the quality of the work, are to blame.

J.U. Even a schoolteacher knows that initial training is easier than retraining.

N.T. Now the last question. Renewal in Poland started 4 years before perestroika in the U.S.S.R. Of course, the initial circumstances were not the same, and nor were the historical experience, national tradition and the state of public consciousness. But for all the differences, whether stated or tacit, these processes have a common underlying objective: first and foremost – the search for a streamlined pattern of socialism. What element in Poland's difficult experience of renewal could serve as a warning to us for our perestroika?

J.U. Yes, there are many differences between our situation and yours, although the ultimate objective is the same for both countries. As for warnings based on our experience, I would indicate the danger of overindulgence in "price regulation" as a means of controlling the economy. In these years we've come to

ealize the risks involved in tinkering with prices, even when such changes are necessary. It certainly does not mean that freezing would be a solution. A halt in the movement of prices would spell an end to the reform! What I believe we need is a smoother, evolutionary price rationalization, but not upward leaps.

Furthermore, we are now beginning soberly to assess the effect of the vast gap between people's desire for democratization and their level of political maturity – what I mean is lack of experience in using the freedoms granted. I would identify this as the key issue. Some people say that changes in this sphere should be gradual for society to be able to cope with them. Others insist that on no account should the democratic changes be halted, since without them the prerequisites for the development of the necessary political maturity would not emerge. I'd rate my own attitude, however, as moderate. That is, I believe that changes should be far-reaching but... gradual enough for people to be able to adapt to them. Otherwise there would only be a semblance of change, or the changes might even backfire. The case with Solidarity in 1981 is an example, when lack of experience in using democratic liberties brought about uncontrolled emotional turmoil and the steamroller tactics that inevitably led to the introduction of martial law on December 13, 1981. Later, after it was lifted, we had to start from scratch, but in much tougher circumstances.

I believe the handicap that is still with us is that we determine policy having only planned one or two immediate steps. We lack the imagination that would help us look much further into the future and anticipate a complex of possible effects. The result is doubts and fears over things that are not fearsome at all. Or conversely, sometimes we plunge into experiments that can suddenly develop unexpected dynamics. So we should learn the art of political prediction, long-term planning for feasible results.

What we have learned to do is to prepare an almost daily survey of public opinion, and gauge its fluctuations. Moreover, we openly give the public uncensored results, although we realize that making the information public that is not to the government's advantage may have side effects: people generally are prone to tailor their views and activities to conform to those of the majority. Nevertheless we have made it a routine to determine policy on the strength of this kind of research.

Interviewer RUDOLF BORECKI
our own correspondent
WARSAW

CMEA – EEC

A strong stimulus

Greece has been chairing the European Economic Community since early July 1988, with **Theodoros Pangalos,** the country's Deputy Foreign Minister, appointed the chief of the EEC headquarters. **Sergei Svirin,** a New Times correspondent, asked him to say a few words about the outlook for CMEA-EEC cooperation.

"The establishment of official relations between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is regarded as very good news in Greece," Theodoros Pangalos pointed out. "One reason we welcome this news is that Greece – Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou in particular – has made every effort to bring the signing of the joint declaration nearer. This is bound to go a long way towards the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

"We expect the declaration to give a strong impulse to the promotion of bilateral contacts between the CMEA and EEC member states. The signing of the document is evidence of the fact that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the development of cooperation between the two economic organizations the members of which belong to different socio-political systems.

"Having assumed the duties of EEC chairman, Greece is firmly resolved to work in a constructive spirit.

"Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou is expected to pay an official friendly visit to Bulgaria before this year is out. The negotiations to be held there will centre on the problems of relations between the CMEA and the EEC, and on bilateral Graeco-Bulgarian contacts. The visit will unquestionably make a substantial contribution to the strengthening of the friendly relations between the two member states of Europe's largest economic organizations."

ATHENS

Stabilizing relations?

Evgeny Bazhanov,
D. Sc. (Hist.)

Washington's policy vis-à-vis China has been rather like a pendulum swinging from periods of friendliness to periods of hostility.

The U.S. first showed an interest in China in the mid-19th century when in their westward trek the American pioneers reached the Pacific coast. China lay on the other side of the ocean. To Americans it seemed an exotic country with a sophisticated political system in which social harmony prevailed.

From anathema to rapprochement

Merchants and industrialists saw a chance of making easy money and churchmen a chance of spreading Christianity. The merchants and missionaries who visited the Celestial Empire soon realized that their ideas about it were far removed from reality. So they set about imposing inequitable trade treaties and alien religions on the Chinese.

When these attempts met with resistance, the inhabitants of the Qing Empire came to be vilified. Its political institutions, economy and cultural values were anathemized.

The hostility peaked in the latter half of the 19th century, when gold was discovered in California and Chinese immigrants joined the Gold Rush (more than 100,000 between 1849 and 1880). Only a few of them struck it rich, the rest swelling the ranks of hired workers prepared to eke out a meager existence working for white masters. The racists raised a hue and cry, declaring that Americans could not compete with "voluntary slaves" and blaming the growing unemployment on the coolies. The cry went up: "Down with the Chinks, and Chinks out!" In 1882 the U.S. President endorsed in Congressional ruling forbidding Chinese immigration.

Since then the pendulum in relations between the two countries has swung several times. During the second world war, Washington regarded China as an ally against Japan. It was planning to turn China into its principal springboard in postwar Asia to help the U.S. control that part of the world and "contain communism." The U.S. press harped on the "moral duty" of the U.S. to protect "the poor and weak" Chinese from external encroachment.

When World War II came to an end, China opted for socialism. Washington saw this as a challenge and put its stake on the leaders of the Guomindang party, who had taken refuge in Taiwan. The policy with regard to People's China was one of open military and political pressure and nuclear blackmail. That policy remained unchanged until the mid-sixties.

The rift between Peking and Moscow prompted a change of attitude. American ruling circles were tempted to take advantage of the situation. The view gradually prevailed that, by entering into a dialogue with the P.R.C., the United States could exercise leverage on the Soviet Union. The then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger reasoned as follows: "We want our China policy to show Moscow that... they must take account of possible U.S.–P.R.C. (China) cooperation. The beneficial impact on the U.S.S.R. is perhaps the single biggest plus that we get from the China initiative." Echoing him, President Richard Nixon said that the Soviet Union's fear of Communist China could force it into a marriage with the West.

American geopoliticians, of course, had other goals as well. They wanted to use Peking to extricate themselves from the Vietnam war, and restore their tarnished image in the Asian-Pacific region. Later, they were attracted by the vast Chinese market. But all these were secondary considerations in prompting the White House's decision to reopen contacts with the People's Republic of China after two decades of non-recognition and containment.

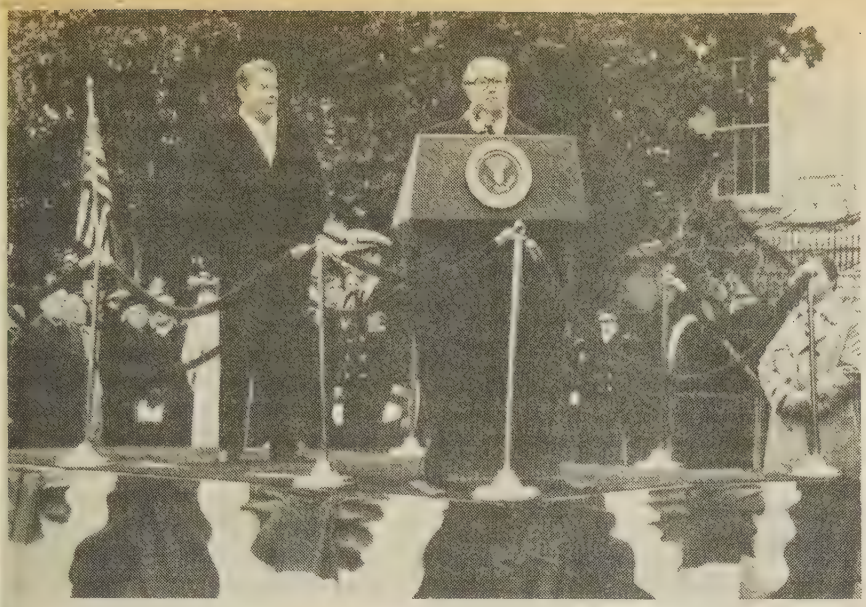
The China card

In 1972 Nixon's official visit to the P.R.C. heralded a rapprochement between the two countries. Largely because of the mass media and partly because the Americans were weary of confrontation, the President's trip to China won extensive support in the U.S. China became "popular." Ideas about the Chinese as a people were reversed. During a public opinion survey in 1966, when Americans were given a list of 23 qualities (positive and negative) and asked to name those associated with the Chinese, the most frequently mentioned adjectives were "treacherous," "perfidious," "bellicose," "ignorant." After Nixon's talks with the Chinese leaders, most Americans thought of the Chinese in positive terms, describing them as "hard-working," "intelligent," "artistic," "progressive," and "practical."

The start of "China card diplomacy." Zbigniew Brzezinski, U.S. President's national security adviser, visiting China in 1978

Photo from International Bulletin (U.S.A.)

At first Washington had every reason to be pleased with its new policy: tensions in Asia were decreasing, and the Ameri-



Zhao Ziyang gets an official welcome in front of the White House in 1984
Photo from the magazine P.R.C. Quarterly (Peking – Hong Kong)

cans secured more diplomatic leeway in the world. Part of the reason for their success was that in pursuing dialogue with Peking (the Taiwan issue was still a stumbling block) the White House simultaneously sought to defuse tensions with the Soviet Union and bring about international détente. It set itself the task of manoeuvring between the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C., and establishing closer relations with both of them than existed between Moscow and Peking.

The second half of the seventies, however, brought a dramatic change in American strategy. The Carter administration committed itself to disrupting détente and setting itself in active opposition to the Soviet Union. The U.S. gave up its policy of balanced relations with the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security adviser, called for "the China card" to be brought into play against Moscow. These geopolitical plans were welcomed in Peking. In its turn, it came up with the idea of a "unified front" against the U.S.S.R. to include practically all countries of the world. The U.S. suspended official links with the Guomindang regime in Taiwan and recognized the government of the P.R.C. as the sole legitimate government of China.

The end of the honeymoon...

Reagan's arrival in the White House marked another turn in U.S. foreign policy. The President and his right-wing conservative team believed that America had gone too far in its efforts to accommodate the P.R.C. The new administration felt that China was only a regional force, a hostile communist state that was not to be trusted. Taiwan was still seen as a natural ally and an important outpost of American military strategy in the Pacific. It was widely contended that China had no choice but to rely on U.S. political and economic support, that in the face of the "Soviet threat," the P.R.C. was actually a hostage to the U.S. as it badly needed American investment and technology.

This approach on the part of the Reagan administration prompted Peking to revise its stance. In 1982 the 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed that China was pursuing an independent foreign policy, was not aligned with any major power or group of states, did not enter into alliances with them and would not bow to outside pressure. The congress voted in favour of normalized relations with all countries, including the U.S.S.R., on the basis of peaceful coexistence. It stressed that China, engaged as it was in building socialism, was objectively interested in disarmament and détente and did not consider a world conflict inevitable. The Chinese leadership and press warned Americans against entertaining the illusion that the P.R.C. "would swallow any pill." Deng Xiaoping said that China was not afraid to become isolated from the U.S. a second time and that until Reagan renounced his political philosophy, the prospect for Sino-American relations was uncertain.

Clearly, the "honeymoon" between Washington and Peking was over. Differences arose over specific bilateral problems. The White House was expanding political and military contacts with the Taiwan regime. The U.S. President and members of his cabinet permitted themselves statements to the effect that Washington had never recognized Peking's sovereignty and jurisdiction over the people of and authorities in Taiwan. The Reagan administration effectively reversed earlier decisions on the transfer of high technology and certain types of armaments. Protectionist measures were imposed on the import of Chinese textiles. Conflicts flared up reapetedly over the demand of the U.S. court that the P.R.C. government repay the debts of the Qing Empire, over the U.S. granting of political asylum to a Chinese tennis player, and so on. The U.S. was very displeased with Peking's diplomatic moves in pursuance of the decisions of the 12th CPC Congress. There were signs of change in Soviet-Chinese relations. The P.R.C. leadership sought to mend its fences with many foreign Communist parties, as well as with the non-aligned movement, and countries in the Middle East, Southern Africa and Central America which were fighting against imperialism.

...but no break

Although Sino-American relations had worsened, the sides were anxious to avoid an open rupture. In U.S. political and academic circles calls were made to overcome the difficulties if only to prevent Peking from returning to the Communist fold. The military stressed China's importance in America's Asian strategy of "containing the Soviet Union." As reform gained momentum in the P.R.C. and its foreign economic ties expanded, American corporations increasingly turned their gaze to the Chinese market.

In August 1982, Peking and Washington signed a new document on Taiwan. The United States reaffirmed that the government of the People's Republic of China was the sole legitimate government of the country, and that Taiwan was a part of China. The U.S. committed itself to scaling down and eventually stopping arms supplies to the Guomindang. In 1983 the White House liberalized high technology exports to the P.R.C. and an agreement was reached in principle on arms supplies. Washington also made concessions on some other disputed problems.

Sino-American relations were gradually stabilized and began to expand in various reas. In 1984 Zhao Ziyang visited

the U.S., and Ronald Reagan went to China. The Americans made another attempt to woo the Chinese leadership into "strategic cooperation," but when they encountered vigorous opposition, they concentrated on economic and ideological levers in thier Chinese policy.

After the Peking talks, President Reagan noted with satisfaction that the Chinese had agreed to allow American firms to establish subsidiaries in Communist China. Capitalism will exist at these enterprises, he said. Washington felt confident that the presence of hundreds of thousands of American businessmen and experts in the P.R.C. would bring about changes in the country. It planned to use cultural channels to create a "powerful pro-American lobby" in China and effect the ideological conversion of the Chinese elite. Confidence in success on the "Chinese front" was derived from the fact that the P.R.C. and the U.S.S.R. still had conflicting views on the situation in Asia and that the Chinese leadership was still talking about the "Soviet menace."

The perestroika factor

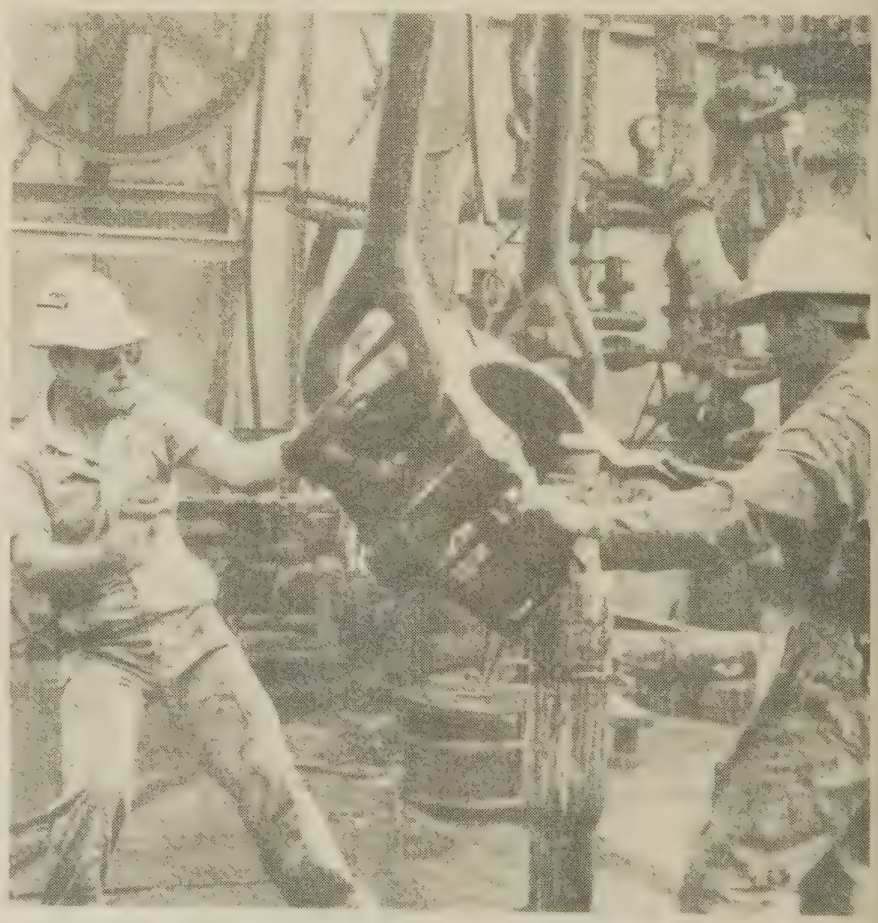
Perestroika in the Soviet Union has introduced a major new element in the situation. The Chinese leadership has gradually become aware of the new Soviet approach to China, the principles of relations between the socialist countries and the Communist parties, and current world problems. There emerged many social and economic priorities common to both countries, and ideological differences between the CPSU and the CPC are receding into the past. All this has contributed to better Sino-Soviet relations and a transition from confrontation to constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation.

How is all this seen in Washington? Some two or three years ago the reaction would undoubtedly have been negative. Now, however, Soviet-American relations are improving, and the overall international situation has improved too. The P.R.C. leaders have said more than once that Peking welcomes the moves towards détente on the part of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and seeks broader links with both of the great powers. The General Secretary of the CC CPC, Zhao Ziyang, recently stressed that Sino-American relations must be based on "peace and development," and cannot be directed against a third country. Otherwise, they would be unstable and transient.

In the present-day context, urging China on towards confrontation with the U.S.S.R. would undermine positive processes in the world and damage mutual understanding between Washington and Peking.

This accounts for the ambivalence of the U.S. reaction to the changes in Sino-Soviet relations. The White House now welcomes the new trend. As Secretary of State George Shultz has said, Washington is not in despair over differences between the U.S. and the P.R.C., and believes that Sino-American relations have entered a period of maturity. However, Reagan warns that China should be on its guard and base its attitude towards the U.S.S.R. on the principle of doveriai, no proveriai ("trust, but verify"). The President noted pointedly that the Soviet Union had a large concentration of troops on the border with the P.R.C. and that the latter should go on pressing Moscow to give up its support for Vietnam's policy in Kampuchea. In the autumn of 1987, for the first time in recent years, the White House imposed additional restrictions on high-tech export to China. For the first time in the nine years since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the American authorities expelled two Chinese diplomats charged with espionage. The procedure for obtaining U.S. visas was toughened for P.R.C. citizens.

The Pentagon, too, is edgy. It has even suggested that China be put back on the list of countries hostile to the U.S. (30 countries, including the U.S.S.R.). Anti-Chinese sentiment in Congress is on the increase. The gentlemen on Capitol Hill have expressed their sympathy for the Tibetan separatists, and passed a series of resolutions on Peking's violations of freedom of expression and human rights. It supports the idea of an independent Taiwan. American newspapers are less



U.S. and Chinese experts prospecting in China's coastal waters
Photo from the magazine P.R.C. Quarterly (Peking – Hong Kong)

iendly to the P.R.C. Some pundits say is time to stop glossing over the real tate of affairs in China.

What next?

The debate as to what policy to pur-ue with regard to China has been re-ndled in the U.S. Some fear that with erestroika, the U.S.S.R. and the .R.C. will be able to iron out their re-aining differences, give a powerful oost to world socialism and launch a int offensive on the West. It is being tressed that the crucial point will be eached when links between the CPSU nd the CPC are restored. In that case eking would no longer be trustworthy, ith all the consequences this would ntail for economic, scientific, echnological and other contacts etween China and the capitalist orld.

Others take a less alarmist stand. Vestern aid, they point out, is far more nportant for China's modernization an cooperation with the Soviet Union. is suggested that the U.S.S.R. and e P.R.C. will never be able to har-onize their approach to Asian sec-ity. Accordingly, the U.S. should xpand its aid to China, to draw it eeper and deeper into the Western rbit.

One new idea being aired is consonnt with the new thinking. Its advo-ates believe that confrontation should e abandoned and the U.S., the .S.S.R., the P.R.C. and all countries, rge and small, come together to build new and more secure world.

The debates continue. Meanwhile, he pendulum of Sino-American rela-ons has again swung towards cooper-tion. Last March the then Chinese oreign Minister, Wu Xueqian, visited he U.S. and in May Tian Jiyun, Deputy remier of the State Council, attended he session of the U.S.-China Joint committee on Trade and Economic ooperation held in the U.S. The lead-rs of both countries made a number f statements assessing bilateral rela-ons in favourable terms. They expres-ed their commitment to developing hese relations further. Reagan wel-omed contacts between the P.R.C. nd Taiwan. In a recent interview, Zhao iyang, while reiterating that Taiwan re-ained a problem in relations between eking and Washington, said that "the eturn of Taiwan and the reunification of the country are becoming more and more of a possibility."

U.S.-Chinese business partnership is based on 40 intergovernment agreements and protocols, hundreds of supplementary documents, and thousands of legal agreements with many private firms. Trade in 1987 reached 7.8 billion dollars, and by the American system of reckoning (which includes re-export via Hong Kong) the figure is 10 billion dollars. In ten years China has imported more than 40 billion dollars' worth of plant and machinery from the United States. In the coming decade the volume is expected to double. The White House has recently lifted the sanctions imposed in retaliation for Peking's Persian Gulf policy, and continues to liberalize the regime for high technology transfer to the P.R.C. U.S. corporations have invested 3.7 billion dollars in 400-odd projects. Negotiations are under way on cooperation in space research. China has bought some American military hardware. Reports say that nearly a hundred Chinese military specialists are being trained in the United States.

Over 20,000 Chinese have taken postgraduate and undergraduate courses in the U.S. About the same number are studying there at present. Many American professors, teachers, researchers, advisers and consultants are working in Chinese educational and research institutions. Washington has helped China create a national centre for the refresher training of managerial personnel in Dalian and a subsidiary of the Johns Hopkins University school of political science in Nanking. An agreement has been reached on sending Peace Corps representatives to China. The two countries have close contacts in the fields of radio, television, cinema and the press. More than 50 million Chinese are learning English. Urban youth follow American fashions in clothes, literature, music, dancing and, to some extent, philosophical and ethical trends.

Last July the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz made an official visit to China. The results of his talks are encouraging in the sense that the White House seems to have actually abandoned its attempts to play "the China card" against the U.S.S.R. According to the world press, both sides praised perestroika in the Soviet Union and approved each other's efforts aimed at ameliorating their relations with the Soviet Union. Speaking in Hawaii after his visit to the P.R.C., the U.S. Secretary of State praised the measures to restore Soviet-Chinese contacts.

Even more significantly, Washington, far from calling on Peking to oppose Moscow, is now trying to justify to China its own commitment to improving relations with the U.S.S.R. Ambassador Max Kampelman, a high-ranking member of the U.S. administration, said in a television interview: "I would think that the extent to which the United States and the Soviet Union can develop a stable relationship, China fully understands that this is not contrary to its interests. I would hope so. We look upon ourselves as engaged in a very constructive dialogue... with China. And by no means would China expect that to mean, as far as we're concerned, that we want to maintain tensions with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we want to maintain stability with all areas of the world. China understands the problem of dealing with the Soviet Union... We're doing what we can to develop the relationship with the Soviet Union without in any way endangering, we hope, our relationship with China."

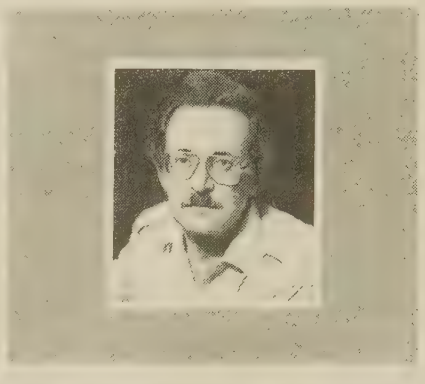
At the same time, Kampelman voiced concern over the fact that, while the United States and the Soviet Union were destroying their medium- and shorter-range missiles, other countries, including the P.R.C., were building, deploying and selling them abroad. The U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci, who visited Peking in September 1988, tried to persuade the Chinese leadership to stop supplying missiles to the Persian Gulf area. His Chinese opposite number, Qin Jiwei, setting out his government's position, said that "China was selling limited amounts of arms."

Be that as it may, the pattern, in the relationship between the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and the P.R.C. has changed. It would be very useful both for the three great powers themselves and for the cause of world peace if they continued to work towards broader cooperation in the world, the issues of détente, security and disarmament included.

As for bilateral Sino-American relations, the trips to China by George Shultz and Frank Carlucci have proved that both governments want to expand their ties in the economic and other practical fields. Such ties will undoubtedly put relations between the two countries on a more solid foundation.

Junior world

Today Junior world introduces a new series "I go to school in..." The next article in the series will be entitled "I go to school in Czechoslovakia ."



I go to school in Argentina

I am at the other side of the world in Buenos Aires, 24 hours by plane from Moscow, under alien stars, as they say. In my student years we used to sing a silly ditty about wandering in Uruguay, in the pitch-black night. And here I am, staying in Uruguay Street, and the tropical night is pitch-black, and I'm not dreaming. I come out onto the small balcony on the 7th floor and look down at Uruguay Street which is rather narrow. The night is warm, dark and peaceful, and it seems nothing out of the ordinary that I, a man from another hemisphere, from another way of life, and have now been over a week in this city.

I have come here with two Soviet writers to attend the 14th World Book Fair. It resembles fairs in Moscow, except that the books are bought from its stands, not stolen. My impression is that people in Argentina – unless they are professional thieves, of course – do not steal. They have other problems.

The fair opened at 5 p.m. and went on till late at night, so the days were at our disposal. I naturally snatched at the very first opportunity to attend classes here. As usual, I wanted to spend a whole day in one class, to be present at all lessons. I was told, however, that far from every teacher would admit a man from my country to his lessons. It must be noted – for symmetry's sake – that many Argentinians are anti-American too. Whatever the reason, I had to be content with what I was allowed to see.

Early in the morning, donning a blue smock...

So, I am already four (!) years old, and my parents have managed to enroll me in a rather prestigious school. It is state-run, but old, tuition is free, it is known for its good teachers, and I'm lucky to be able to study here. Already at four, I'm guaranteed an up-to-the-mark secondary education. Usually a person's first reminiscences date from that age. That means that my conscious life is to begin at school.

I go to school in Argentina, and I wear a blue, or navy blue, or orange smock – there's no school uniform in the country, and only tots wear smocks, each class its own colour, which makes the sombre school building look gayer when the children are there. During the breaks we shoals of dark-eyed children fall into chains, putting both hands on the shoulders of the boy or girl in front, the chain forms a ring that trots along in the professoress' wake. Incidentally, all teachers are professors here, simply because professor is the Spanish for teacher. The salaries are roughly the same for teachers of all forms.

Though we little ones are taught only clay modelling, drawing and singing, and classes end at 1 p.m., I feel that I'm given a great deal of time and effort, and that things will be easy for me when I begin to study in earnest. The development of all the children in my form will be on a pa there will be no great discrepancies, as the case when pupils start school at s and plunged straight into the three R's and some are praised and other scolded...

So if it is reasonably well organized children can go to school at four, an meanwhile we are debating whether it worthwhile beginning to study at six.

School, education and reading habit are fetishes in Argentina. Seven-yea education was made obligatory a centur earlier than in this country, and that something not to be ignored. The Boo Fair is a festival of festivals, with hun dreds of cars in the parking lot an thousands of people in the huge pavilion At 1 a.m. I saw the collected works Thomas Mann on display at a workin stall – in case somebody needs it.

And still, people com plain that children nov read less.

In the past, more were judged by how chil dren treated their elders "Times are bad nowa days," they used to say "children no longer re spect their parents. Today, reading seems t have become such yardstick. The end of the world, peopl think, is nearer the less children read Maybe they are not far from the truth.

What is carved on the desk

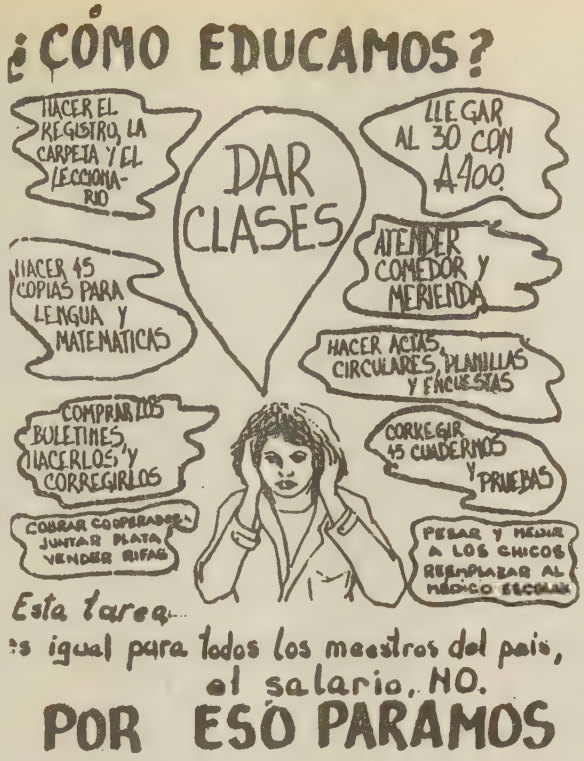
The bell rings, I am now about ten years older, and I am attending a two-hou French lesson in the ninth form. Professo Clara conducts her classes in a free man ner, improvises and makes us all feel a ease. In a loose cardigan and low-cu white blouse, Clara converses with the pupils rather than teaches them. She speaks to them in French about France and the French language. While everyone was doing grammar exercises, writing either with the right hand or the left (inci dentally, almost one in four pupils is left handed), I looked around me, at the bare walls, whitewashed at the top, and below painted a cheerless ochre, and at my desk, probably half a century old, carved on all over by my predecessors. Paola

Robertino, Laura – the names are Spanish, but these secret signs of first love make me heave a sigh and bring to mind an old Moscow school in Kolpachny Lane with other names carved on just the same old desks...

Yes, the school should be very old, the desks should be heavy and sound, a brand-new school is not as good as that. In the first place, the school must be traditional and thorough, and must link the child with the past, so that he fits harmoniously into the history and life of his people.

On the contrary, textbooks should be newer and more subtle. Professor Clara drew a dial with hands on the blackboard and asked: "Est-ce correct?" "Oui, oui," the class replied in chorus, and the girls raised their manicured hands with their cheap black plastic bangles. The textbook is entitled "Et voila!", something unheard-of in Soviet school. The first page shows a passport and easily understandable questions: Who is this man? How old is he? Where does he live?, and so on. Then comes a big photograph of Charles Aznavour. Who is he? He is a Frenchman. A French textbook about France.

In this connection, I could not help recalling that the French textbook for our eighth-formers is largely about Artek, a Young Pioneer camp in the Crimea, and about Soviet Young Communist League activities.


¿CÓMO EDUCAMOS?
DAR CLASES
HACER EL REGISTRO, LA CARPETA Y EL LECCIONARIO
LLEGAR AL 30 CON A400
ATENDER COMEDOR Y MERIENDA
HACER 45 COPIAS PARA LENGUA Y MATEMATICAS
HACER ACTAS, CIRCULARES, PLANILLAS Y ENCUESTAS
COMPRAR LOS BOLETINES, HACERLOS Y CORREGIRLOS
CORREGIR 45 CUADERNOS Y PRUEBAS
COBRAR COOPERADORA, JUNTAR PLATA, VENDER RIFAS
PESAR Y MEDIR A LOS CHICOS REEMPLAZAR AL MÉDICO ESCOLAR
Esta tarea... es igual para todos los maestros del país, el salario, NO.
POR ESO PARAMOS

One of the leaflets the striking teachers distributed in Buenos Aires: "How do we teach?" Numerous teacher's duties are listed – preparing material, conducting classes, filling in documents, and even weighing children. The work is equal, the pay is not. "That is why we are on strike," the amalgamated union of Buenos Aires educational workers explains.

A lecture for young colleagues

Several years have passed and I have finished the seven years of compulsory primary school and five years of secondary school, and have now entered the normal. Two more years of studies, then six months of practical work, and I am qualified to teach four-year-olds. For five or six years I shall teach only the first, second, or third form, taking a new class each year. I won't be given a higher form until I have mastered the curriculum and methods for the previous one. The system has its shortcomings – a new teacher every year, and advantages – the change of teachers may enrich experience. But our system – one teacher takes the class through primary school – seems more progressive to our Argentine colleagues, and they are gradually switching over to it. When the teacher's skills are poor, the Argentine system seems more expedient, while with good teachers, our system is preferable.

And so, together with other students, I attend the first lecture on literature. The professor is an embodiment of decency and refinement – in his speech, his gestures, his expression. At his introductory lecture he analyzed Augusto Castro's sonnet on an uphill road and life's tortuous path. He spoke of metaphors and synonyms, dwelling on the word "mild" as applied to man, and reflected on truth and optimism. "You have chosen the teaching profession, and in your work you will need patience, tenderness, reserve and love," he concluded his lecture.

No registers or reports

In the corridor, the teacher accompanying me asked the first two girl students who happened to be around: "Do you like going to school?"

The two girls, totally unlike, made equally round eyes and answered without a moment's hesitation: "Of course not! It's such a bore. And then the professors don't see things the way we do."

We might have heard the same answer all over the globe. Isn't it time we established a world society to protect children from the boring and oppressive atmosphere of school?

Had I requested the Argentine public education authorities (I apologize for not having done so) I would probably have been taken to a school stuffed with audio-visual aids and computers where the children would have given an enthusiastic Yes to this question. But I wanted to see school-as-it-really-is, and I had visited this particular school at random, though with the consent of the principal.

Comparing my Argentine impressions with practices in this country, I see no essential difference in the main thing – the way the school-pupil relationship works. Apart from extreme cases of fascinating instruction or conflict situations, the school, well, both figuratively and literally, doesn't touch the pupil. And I think that makes its formative influence much weaker than is generally believed.

For better or for worse, this is a factor to be reckoned with. What makes the Argentine school different from ours is that it honestly and calmly accepts the fact that the school is to some extent, alienated from the pupil, and has no ambitions in this respect, which cannot be said of our schools. Come to school, learn what you can and go home – this is the essence of the Argentine schools' attitude to pupils.

That is not to say that teachers there do not want a good academic showing from their pupils. An indignant teacher at a suburban school told me that she had wanted eight third-formers to repeat the year, but the principal had said it couldn't be done as the inspector might come and the staff would be in for trouble . So she

had to make do with only six. This is a situation we might encounter in any school here, near Moscow, for example.

It must be admitted, however, that my colleague in Argentina does not have the least idea of academic progress reports. She will be reprimanded if the inspector comes, and if not, nobody will know. Academic progress is not recorded – something our educationists are not likely to believe. Even class registers are non-existent. If he wants to, the teacher jots down the marks in his notebook, and nobody controls what part of the course has already been covered and how much time was spent on it. Just imagine, dear colleague from Novosibirsk or Moscow, a school without registers! In one of our constituent republics I saw numbers on registers, as on banknotes, in case a teacher, mind you, a teacher, not a pupil – erazed marks or simply forged the whole register. Certainly a school where teachers are treated as potential criminals leaves much to be desired as far as the moral climate is concerned.

I can swear that the school without uniform, without reports, pupils on duty, or registers, does exist, does not collapse and even seems too strict to those who study in it.

A little psychology

The glue that holds this school together is, to my mind, the century-old and universal habit of studying, and the traditionally profound interest of Argentinians in their inner world. It is not for nothing that Newsweek wrote last summer that Buenos Aires is home to more psychoanalysts than any other city in the world, except New York, and that they are quite afordable.

The influence of scientific psychology is considerably greater in Argentina than here in the U.S.S.R. The weekly Psicologia de Actualidad has a wide readership, and I visited a psychology lesson in the Manuel Belgrano high school in Cordoba. A lot of mimeographed material was handed around, in particular a concise history of world psychology from Socrates to Jacques Lacan. (I'm not sure that every qualified psychologist would be able to tell you who Jacques Lacan is).

Near a Buenos Aires school I happened to read a lecture plan for teachers. The list was quite remarkable, as our educationists receive nothing of the kind. It included a lecture on the strategy of personality alterations and how to reprogramme the inner computer to attain our goals, followed by "The free child – emancipation of his first creative impulses, intuition and emotions, "How to control emotions in family life," and "Imaginative development technique." The book "I'm OK – You're OK," is read all over the globe, except in our country. And today it is a must for any literate, let alone educated person to know the basic workings of relations with oneself and with other people, which the book is essentially about.

Educationists in Argentina are well versed in psychology and use it widely in their everyday work. My guide, Literaturnaya Gazeta correspondent Vladimir Vesensky, arranged a meeting for me with several university teachers of pedagogics. It lasted several hours, and the conversation centred around constructivist psychology, the theories of Piaget and the psychology of development. I must say that educational researchers take an extremely critical view of the current state of pedagogics. To their mind, it is destroying the school, technocratic didactical trends brought from the U.S. prevail in it, and are making a bureaucrat of the teacher, the pupils do not know why they are studying, and the teachers, why they are teaching.

It was probably this discontent with the school system, for different reasons in pupils and educationists, but equally strong with both, that triggered off the impressive strike that shook the country at the beginning of this academic year.

Offending the teacher, you offend the people

So I go to school in Argentina. I'm sixteen, and together with my classmates I hand out leaflets explaining why we are on strike, to passers-by. Taking part in it are pupils and teachers, teachers from state-run, private and even confessional schools. The main reason for a professors' general strike lasting for weeks on end, was wages which are low, and, still more importantly, unequal for various regions. A professor cannot make both ends meet.

On an evening in April an impressive demonstration by teachers, pupils and parents took place – and I was there, for I go to school in Argentina... Columns from all over the city converged on the square in front of Parliament, where educational problems were being discussed. The mood was not aggressive. It even seemed to me that teachers were somewhat taken aback by the fact that pupils were marching shoulder to shoulder with them. Their world outlooks are not so different after all. The huge square beat the drums and chanted: "Let us see what our education is!" – Boom! Boom! Boom! "Let us see how much our teachers earn!" Boom! Boom! Boom!

Shreds of paper were thrown from the balconies to show support for the strikers. Hawkers peddled sweets, everybody shouted, sang and drummed incessantly, but there was not a single excess or violent action – and there were no police to order people around. Then the demonstration set out for the Presidential Palace. And I left, for I felt that it was bad form to be an onlooker at other people's trouble. For despite all their gaiety, the going is bad for people whose wages are too small to make a living.

The government managed, after the strike had lasted six weeks, to come to interim terms with the teachers. It made some concessions, and classes began in schools.

Only slogans remained on the walls. One of them read: "Offending the teacher, you offend the people."

The dinosaurs are still alive

As for slogans, two advertising hoardings soaring over the rooftops – "Let's go to school with our children" and "The dinosaurs are still alive" – puzzled me. It turned out that the first poster, which naturally roused my admiration by its concern for schools, was just lip service to democracy by the council on advertizing, and the second referred to a wonderful museum, which I was lucky enough to see. It was about 11 p.m., but there were many parents with kids of all ages, even toddlers. We were shown a film about dinosaurs and then led to a huge stable where different prehistoric beasts stretched their necks, roared and kicked. Even the smell was peculiar. And no matter how hard the sponsors tried to make the plaster casts look fearsome, the children remained undaunted – the monsters were quite harmless.

What about the dinosaurs in real life, in education? They are flesh and blood, not papier mâché. When I addressed the Book Fair, and the audience that filled the hall asked me scores of questions about our school, I was happy that now I could speak my mind about education in the Soviet Union and that we had much to be proud of. But the dinosaurs are still having their say. If we prevail over them, you over yours, and we over ours, things will be easier for our children, I said, greatly to the audience's appreciation.

Simon Soloveichik

The road to Auschwitz

ight notebooks covered a small illegible hand is that was left behind by tty Hillesum, who once ught Russian literature t Amsterdam University. er diary is for the years 941-1943.

How did she live before the war? We ve very scant information on this acunt. She was born in Hilversum in 14. Her father taught in a grammar hool, and Etty's younger brother, isha, was a gifted pianist. On graduatg from the University with honours, Etty gan to study Slavonic languages. She veloped a great love for the Russian nguage and classical Russian literature the 19th century, read Tolstoy and stoyevsky avidly and studied the etry of Lermontov and Pushkin.

On September 7, 1943, Etty's parents d her pianist brother, whom the coun-'s finest musicians had begged the occupiers to spare, were sent to Auschwitz. ty's name did not figure on the list and e could have remained behind, but vertheless she made up her mind to o with her people."

On November 30, 1943, the Internanal Red Cross reported the death of ty Hillesum. Her parents and brother d died as well.

J.G. Gaarlandt, the publisher of Etty llesum's Diary, supplemented the fifth edition of the book with the note to the effect that a reading of the diary had been given in the Amsterdam Concert Hall on October 1, 1981.

Sunday, March 15, 11 a.m. Yesterday Dr Spier and I read aloud, and came upon the following words: "Could we come upon at least one Man worthy of the name, this alone would be enough to make us believe in the whole of humanity." These words made a great impression on me, for this is the problem of our time. A passionate hatred for the Germans, who are poisoning all and everything. Let those degenerates, unworthy of the name of men, sink to the bottom of the sea or burn in the blue flame. But if there is a single real human being among them, one cannot hate the whole German people.

Formerly I started my day reading and analyzing Dostoyevsky or Hegel, while now I am up and about from early morning, and some time passes before I turn to the spiritual and literary titans.

I have to work hard to purge my writing of pathetic rubbish, though it is, I think, mainly my laziness that hinders my efforts to find adequate expresion.

Tuesday, March 25. We are living in an atmosphere of nightmare. Many have perished, among them the great poet Marsman, who was killed on board a ship torpedoed by the Germans; many others have died in concentration camps.

I caught sight of Professor Bonger near the Sports Palace – a black-clad figure, dark-blue glasses, heavy intelligent head turned towards thick black clouds of smoke rising from the oil wharf enveloped in flames. On an unconscious impulse, coatless, I rushed towards him and said: "Good morning, professor. I have been thinking much of you lately. Let me accompany you." He looked at me through his dark-blue glasses, seeming not to recognize me, though I had passed two tests of his and was now his colleague. Bonger allowed me to accompany him. He looked like a helpless child. I took his arm and walked him to Brouwersplein. A brilliant criminologist, he seemed to me to be spiritually broken. As if someone had emasculated him, depriving him of the characteristic harshness and passion he had had during arguments. Just to think that all his colleagues had feared this bully! Before we parted he said: "Goodbye. I have enjoyed every minute of our walk." It was at seven in the evening, and an hour later he shot himself.

Saturday, June 14, 1941. Again arrests, terror, concentration camps; they are killing fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, children... People are trying to find some inner logic in all these evil deeds but failing to do so. Something terrible, bringing death and horrible sufferings in its wake, is looming over us, and we are helpless to resist it.

Saturday, midnight. We are merely empty vessels that filter the world's history. Everything in the world is at once accidental and not accidental. If I believed in the first I could not go on living, but I am not convinced that the second is true either.

August 4. Monday. Spier says that love for the whole of humanity is much more important than love for one person only. Because love for one person is, in reality, something close to egotism. I do not share that view of his. No matter how strong my love is for the whole of humanity, I shall always be looking for one man, one person. This, I believe, explains women's narrowness of outlook, since a woman is so made that she cannot belong to the whole of mankind, but is waiting for one man.

September 5, 9 a.m. I feel as if I had just recovered from a serious illness. Maybe because I identify too much with the things I read and analyze. Of course, I should be more careful about my approach to my work, I should not overdo it or think it necessary to achieve at one fell swoop the results that would crown my

whole life. I should hide myself in a secret place where no one could interfere, or listen for what is going on in my soul. And stop working myself up, and be less excited about my work. In actual fact, however, when doing an ordinary translation from Russian into Dutch, I cannot help but see before my eyes the vast, wonderful Russian land, and I sometimes think that I could even write such book as "The Brothers Karamazov."

All of a sudden I imagine that I can make it in moments of the highest inspiration, and I am afraid therefore that in the atmosphere of prosaic everyday life I shall never be able to achieve what seems to me to be possible in moments of creative enthusiasm.

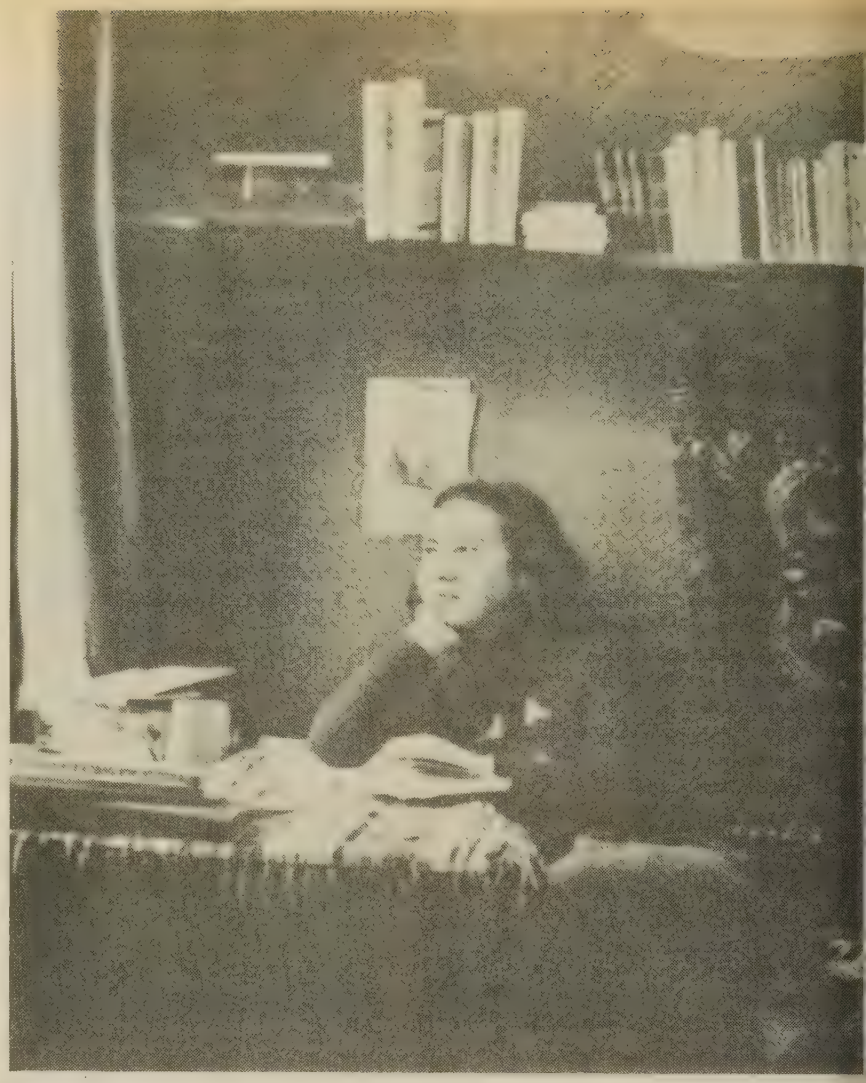
Why should I, after all, create something great? I should live, and try be truly human.

October 24, 1941. Today another, more cruel order concerning the Jews appeared. In moments like this I want to escape the grave reality by reading the work of my favourite poet, Rilke, who shared my love for Russia. Why don't I drop all this work of mine? Now I can only think of the fate of my brother Misha.

November 11. Morning. I feel dismal fear for my life, this being the only emotion that remains. I am suffering from a bad depression, feeling disgust for everything, and fear. I am so attached to this life. But what do I mean when I say "this life"? My present comfortable existence? Or am I indeed attached to stark naked life as such no matter what shape it takes over a long period of time? You have lots of vital force left, I tell myself; you are still able, laughing and weeping, to keep going. But there is more in you than simply that. The forces that keep you going have something to do with the dynamics inherent in all West European intellectuals.

Sunday. In the morning. My father arrived. He came and sat himself in the armchair. My dear, dear father, with his umbrella which he is constantly confusing with somebody else's, in a new check tie, carrying a package filled with different sandwiches. At first he seemed to me fatigued and gloomy, then, as if taking himself in hand, he began to crack jokes and tell amusing stories. In his subdued behavior I could discern fear, mortal terror for the future. When he was gone, once again I felt miserable; chaos, commotion of feelings again came over me.

March 12, 1942, 9 p.m. We are no longer allowed to take walks along Wondelweg. (A walking terrain in Wondel Park.) Any small cluster of trees is declared a forest and notice put up nearby



Etty Hillesum: "I should live and try to be truly human."

reading: "Jews not allowed." Notices like these are appearing everywhere.

May 18, 1942. The invaders' threats are becoming more and more horrible. Terror is growing with each passing day. I envelop myself in prayer, which makes me feel fenced off by high walls, and while praying, I feel as if I had retired to a convent cell, and return stronger, more disciplined, more confident. This return from withdrawal is for me the return to reality, and moreover, to objectively existing reality. Withdrawal into oneself and inner concentration generate the protective shell in which I restore myself to life. I cannot believe that the envelope now protecting me will in time shrink so tight as to choke me.

May 26. Half past nine in the evening. Yesterday I walked along the embankment, and a fresh wind blew against my face. Then I met Julius and we strolled along the lilacs and small roses. We talked about our future, and said that we wanted so much never to part. We had a marvelous evening. When I returned home it was late, already night, so magic and quiet that I could hardly hold my pen but I made up my mind that from then on I would spend whole nights writing, and that these would be the most fantastic nights.

Saturday. Morning. The bare trees outside my window have become covered overnight in small green leaves that twine around their hard austere trunks like scales. Though I woke early, I stayed in bed for a long time, gazing through the open window. I had the feeling I was lying on the bare breast of life, listening to its soft, regular heart beat. So I lay, hugged by life, and felt absolutely secure. What was going on in the world, I wondered. War, concentration camps everywhere, one act of infamy piled onto another. When I walk along the streets I know that a son from this house is in jail, next door the father of the family has been taken hostage, and over there they've had a notice that their eighteen-year-old son has been sentenced to death. And these houses stand very near to mine. I am

re how people are being persecuted, ow about their constant sufferings, cruel tyranny, and sadism of the my, and I am filled with impotent ed. I am aware of all this, but I remain to face with every hour of the reality is closing in.

nd in moments of bitterness, too, n left to my own devices, I lie clinging e bare breast of life, and its arms hug so tenderly and firmly that I feel it will n forever. This is my outlook on life, I believe that no war or crimes nst humanity can change it.

riday. 7.30 a.m. Good morning, my desk, cluttered with all sorts of manipts, books, and what have you! A ll volume of Rilke's poetry lies on top Commercial Phrase Book of the Rus- Language," "Memoirs of a Re-tionist," by Russian anarchist otkin, lies thrown on the edge of the . I took it from the dusty shelf and, gh it is a bit archaic nowadays, I d like to reread the pages where he ribes his stay in a prison cell and the g of a person who for the first time himself behind bars. It would be while to translate the book into h and show the first reaction of a on deprived of freedom. The dis- from one corner of my room to her is ten steps, and if the distance covered a hundred and fifty times , it would make one verst. That ns Kropotkin did seven versts a day, is, two in the morning, two in the afoon, two in the evening and one prior ing to bed. I'll try to follow his examand walk seven versts a day.

unday. 8 a.m. My one important ocation is the study of the Russian lange and that vast country, dear to my t, where this beautiful language is ken. On the day when you set foot on shores of the Netherlands, I will rush he railway station to buy tickets to scow, the very heart of Russia. All this e fantasy of youth! Shall we survive, I ider? Our life is becoming more and e horrible with each passing day. at is in store for us?

ame day. Noon. A letter from father. rom today Jews are not allowed to bicycles

uly 1, 1942. Early morning. hours, each one more horrible than last, have it that the death factory is king full swing in Auschwitz, and evning has already been pulverized but own flesh. In terms of my physical e I am weak and exhausted, but my t is still strong. Towards eight in the ning, I regained control of myself so h that I was able to give a girl a lesson in colloquial Russian, which fills me with pride.

A fine summer's day. The breeze brings the fragrance of jasmine through the window. Presently I set out to meet my friend, who for sixteen months has held such an important place in my life. I seem to have known him for ages. And I still continue to believe in my lucky star, even if the lice eat me up in Auschwitz.

I accept it as an inevitability that the nazis want to destroy us all. It has been brought home to me. But I don't want to burden my near ones with the fear I feel before the deadly future; I don't want to be embittered by the fact that many people I rub shoulders with do not recognize the danger that is threatening us Jews. I have work I love, and I believe I lead a life full of meaning, rich in thought and feeling..."

August 11, 1943. A letter from Westerbork

"Dear Maria. Some day in the future when I no longer lie on iron bunks in a place fenced off with barbed wire, I am sure to buy myself a lamp to hang right above my bed so that whenever I want to I can have light falling on me. In a half-dream my head is always full of all sorts of ideas and stories, light and transparent as soap-bubbles, and I want to capture them on paper. Awakening in the morning I still remain in the grip of my artistic fantasies, and each time waking means parting company with my wealth. Presently, when I am up, ideas and images hover over me so tangibly, so closely that I immediately feel the urge to write them down and start looking for a spot where I can do it undisturbed. Once, a cat that was about to have kittens strayed into our barracks. The women who were awake put the cover on the lavatory pan, and on it the cat gave birth to her litter. I feel I am exactly like that cat, though without a cover on the pan. I have been writing this letter in scraps in a dozen places, and finished it – of all places – on an empty wheelbarrow among the heaps of dirty linen near the laundry where Anna-Maria works.

"Kissing you, Etty."

And the last letter written from the camp by Etty's friend.

September 6-7, 1943

"Dear Meneer Wegerif, Hans, Maria, Tide and others whom I may not know very well.

"It is difficult for me to tell you about Etty. Everything happened so suddenly and unexpectedly. Strange as it may sound, though not so suddenly, not so unexpectedly all of us being still alive and hoping to survive. She too would have been saved and survived had she not condemned herself to death. She, alas, herself chose to go. We began to help Etty's parents and Misha to pack. Etty's parents were well aware of what was in store for them, for they had a red-stamped card which signified that they were doomed to "selection." Still there was hope that Misha, being very young, would be able to survive. And all of a sudden on the night before deportation, Etty announced her decision to join the deportees. Her decision was firm and unshakable.

"So we, her friends, rushed to barracks 62 and began to pack her things. We packed her bag tightly with some linen, clothes and something to eat for the journey. And before that Etty had intended to stay with us and keep up our spirits in the belief that we would be able to overcome every misfortune, and suddenly... Then we went to the barracks where her parents lived. Misha kept up his spirits; he did not complain nor did he fidget. It was especially hard on him to leave his music, and his musical compositions. I managed, however, to put approximately a quarter of his belongings into his sack, and the remainder – a full suitcase – I keep with me so that I can send it to Amsterdam at a convenient opportunity. And we walked to the station, with Etty's parents and Misha ahead, then Etty and I bringing up the rear loaded with a heavy knapsack, and a travelling basket with food and a thermos. And so she set foot on the very platform which 14 days before she had so inimitably and vividly described in her diary. Chatting cheerfully and smiling to everybody who was seeing her off, she said with her characteristic humour, but now perhaps with a little sadness in it: 'I have my diaries, my pocket Bible, a Russian grammar, Tolstoy's stories, Dostoyevsky's "The Idiot," and I am not sure myself what there is in my luggage.' A sharp whistle sounded and the train started taking 'a hundred transportable people' eastwards.

"She was gone but we were still standing there, feeling as if we had been deprived of something most dear, and yet we still cherished the hope that we would some day see her again. That was a black day for us, for Cooiman, for Mech, for all who had known her for so long, for those to whom she had become a guiding light in the utter darkness around us.

"Excuse me for this confused letter. You have the right to ask: 'Could Etty have acted differently?' To which I firmly answer: 'No, she could not. This is exactly the way she should have acted. She had always been with those who most needed her help. I'll try in the shortest possible time to send you her books, I am sending her typewriter directly to Maria since Etty asked me about it. I am also sending along two letters which arrived when Etty had already left Westerbork.

"Yours sincerely, Jopie Vleeschouwer."

Prepared by Irma Volevich

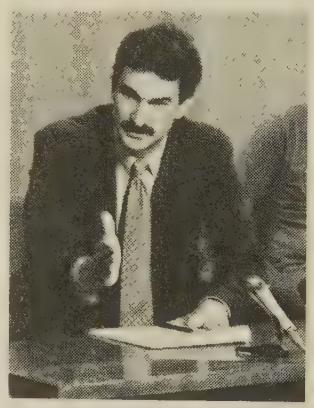
"I've got so many plans, they are enough for a century," says **André Heller,** 41, from Vienna. Brought up in the family of a chocolate maker, Heller is rightly known today as the leading man in Austrian show biz. His shows are always a success. In recent weeks his show "Body and Soul" has been drawing full houses in West Germany. To create this "feast on stage," as Heller himself likes to call his brainchild, he had to spend several months in New York hunting for actors. Three thousand singers and dancers from local theatres, cabarets, night clubs, music schools and youth centres were picked up, and only a handful of black actors satisfied the artistic standards required by Heller. The "Flic-Flac" circus show put on before the "Body and Soul" was no less of a success, fascinating people in Europe, the United States and Japan.

André is always in search of new means of contact with audiences, new genres, new idioms. Some years ago he made up a festive firework with special colour and sound effects. Requests for a repeat performance came from many countries, but André rejected them. Art is not an assembly line, says he.

Now André is creating "a monument of music and water" in Vienna, the city of his birth. Spectators will see a "water palace" filled with music by Phil Glass and Pierre Boulez.

The only thing that upsets Heller's fans is that he still can't find time to sing, though it was as a singer that he started his career in show biz.

* * *



Hal Harvey, the American scientist and public figure, is visiting Moscow for the fourth time this year. He is a member of the Presidium of the International Foundation for the Survival of Humanity along with Andrei Sakharov, Tatyana Zaslavskaya and Dmitry Likhachev.

Hal is 28. A Stanford graduate in power engineering, he majored in alternative energy carriers, and this strictly professional interest led him to take up social issues – environment protection and arms control. Hal organized the Stanford Arms Control and Disarmament Forum, the Centre for Innovative Diplomacy in Palo Alto and became chairman of the Peace Net initiative and the Institute for Policy Studies. Hal also owns a construction company producing "clean" cottages, warmed exclusively by solar energy.

"I am a businessman," says Harvey , "though maybe more of a scientist than a businessman. Most of my time goes into ecology-related studies and establishing friendly links with the Soviet Union. Together we can solve a lot of problems, including ecological ones, for in the final analysis cooperation – be it in the economic, scienti technological or humanitar sphere – has a bearing ecology. Today humanity is highly developed that we c substantially reduce ene consumption exclusiv through technological inno tions. For example, a 5 cent reduction in fuel c sumption is quite feasib provided car engines are i proved, in which case the U could do without imported The use of a new type of el tric bulb with far greater e ciency than that of conv tional ones offers even m breathtaking perspectives."

* * *

At the "Back in the U.S.S.I music festival in Ron thousands of Italian rock l ers were fascinated by Sov singer **Zhanna Aguzarova.**

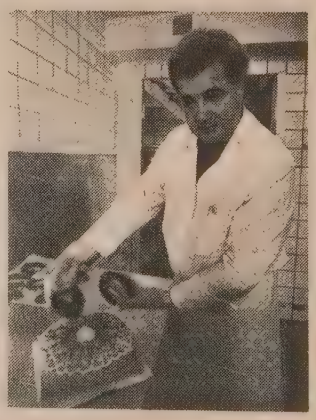
Zhanna has now been w the group Bravo from Mosc for five years. Bravo, togeth with Zvuki MU from Mosco Televizor from Leningrad a Antis from Vilnius, introduc Italians to the hithe

Cake for auction

Three original cakes baked by **Vladimir Guralnik,** who comes from an old Moscow family of confectioners, were offered for sale at an auction in Moscow on October 7. Last year Vladimir showed his expertise at a similar event, where one of his cakes was sold for 80 rubles.

Vladimir Guralnik, 49, has been with one of Moscow's most prestigious restaurants, the Praha, since 1955. Then he was an apprentice, and today he is head of the restaurant's confectionary.

"I had few doubts as to my future trade," says he, "my parents were also confectioners:



father was with the Moskva restaurant, and mother with the Budapesht. As for me, I am with the Praha. Our work is far from easy, but I've always found it interesting, even cinating; in it one can s skill and imagination and m people happy."

Vladimir was the firs make "Bird's Milk," the popular and sought-after in Moscow, and later obta for it patent No.925285 o U.S.S.R. State Committe Inventions and Discoveri an extremely rare event i catering world.

Vladimir does not coo home. At best his wife daughter can count on the pert's advice.

K.Elg

nown Soviet rock culture. iavo's repertoire includes oogie-woogie, shake and : of the late 1950s-early)s. The group's old- oned style became popu- largely because of na's talent. The group's don't hesitate to imitate uninhibited ways and e of clothes.

cording to youth press , Zhanna is the most sing rock singer in the t Union. When her name appears in billboards, halls are packed to capacity. Rock'n'roll and twist appeal to both young and old alike. Sometimes Zhanna also writes her own lyrics.

* * *

José María Cobo, 23, is president of the Junior Empresa Confederation, recently formed in Spain, with the goal of helping students acquire knowledge and skills in management through actual market transactions. Cobo, a fourth-year student in the business studies department, says he has liked "risk and excitement" since childhood.

The idea of the Junior Empresa came to Cobo when he learned from the press that a firm training students for business had been working in France for 20 years. With his friends José started to organize groups (20 in number) offering services to industrial enterprises. These services include scientifically motivated economic surveys for businessmen, calculations, the processing of data necessary for improving production, etc. The Junior Empresa groups work especially for small and medium factories which cannot afford economic research of their own.

José María Cobo is satisfied with the performance of his 1,500-strong staff. The first year of work alone brought a profit of 25 million pesetas.

The Junior Empresa is planning to establish cooperation with students from France and Switzerland to carry out joint research.

* * *

Elena Shushunova, a 19-year-old from Leningrad, is the peerless leader in world competitive gymnastics, and she has confirmed it once again with her victory at the Seoul Olympics.

In 1976 when she started her sporting career. Her first tutors were Victor Gavrichenkov and Tamara Yatchenko. In 1982 she joined the U.S.S.R. national team and a year later came her first victory – the Soviet Union Cup. In 1985 Elena became European and world champion and in 1986 she won the World Cup. She also won six gold medals at the Zagreb student games.

This year Soviet gymnasts performed in August in Seoul, then joined the Olympic tournament which also brought a gold for Elena.

Elena – a student at the Lesgaft Physical Culture Institute in Leningrad – wants to be a coach. The Seoul Games was the first Olympiad in her career, but it will be the last.

* * *

rst among equals

ear-old **Judit Polgar** Hungary is the infant y of the chess world. vear, she fulfilled the quota for International r three times in three s, after she had beaten world-famous chess s as Gutman of Israel, cu of Romania, nov of Bulgaria and on of Iceland at tour- nts in New York, adhir and Bagneux. At recent youth world ionship in Timisoara, nia, Judit Polgar be- the "champion" in her ge group.

one of her age, includ- en, has ever won a title (Bobby Fischer e an International at 15, Anatoly Karpov

Polgar sisters, Zsuzsa, and Judit, are excel- chess players. Some ago the world was d by the news of

Zsuzsa Polgar's ascent to the front ranks of the men's chess hierarchy. Later, her little sister Judit became a worthy competitor.

The girls owe their passion for chess to father, who was their first teacher, coach and manager. However, his methods were a subject of much criticism and heated debates. Laszlo Polgar started teaching his daughters to play chess when they were 4 to 5 years old, barred them from school (the sisters study at home and do well in external exams), arranged their daily routine, and planned their training. Judit, for one, wakes at six, plays table tennis for some hours, then come 6 to 7 hours of chess with different coaches, studies of chess theory, and analyses of individual games. Laszlo Polgar is often reproached for robbing his daughters of their childhood and ruining their futures, but the sisters, especially Judit, deny the charges.

Judit was not yet 6 when she beat a friend of her father's at chess without looking at the board. The man asked her to come for dinner, saying: "You are good at chess, but I'm a good cook." "Do you cook without looking at the stove?" – quipped Judit.

Agnes Horvath
BUDAPEST

On the same ski-track

Dmitry Shparo, leader of the Soviet-Canadian trans-Arctic expedition, kindly granted an interview to New Times. Summing up the results, he told correspondents:

"We are confident that the history of the world has recorded another human achievement."

New Times. We know it was your long-cherished dream to undertake a joint expedition from the Soviet coast via the North Pole to Canada. You did it in 91 days. But it took years to make your dream come true. Why?

Dmitry Shparo. Only yesterday a trans-Arctic trek would have been impossible. In the past our country would not cooperate with any other state in the exploration of the Arctic. Practically all the information on it was secret. But it is a very difficult region. You can hardly make any progress in the effort alone. Such a task is formidable for any one country. International cooperation is essential. It seems that both we and the Canadians have at last come to realize this. Shortly before our venture, Mikhail Gorbachev made a speech in Murmansk. What he said appealed to everybody. He proposed that the countries concerned pool their efforts in the exploration of this part of the world. The time for new thinking had come and this made it possible for us to set out on this expedition.

N.T. You had a training session in Canada where the conditions are practically identical with those in the Arctic wilderness. We know that after it, three Canadians dropped out. Why?

D.S. To tell you the truth, I really don't know why. In my opinion, they coped valiantly with all the hardships. Perhaps they lacked self-confidence. Or perhaps they feared they might let the others down. (It was only a dress rehearsal, you know). To put it in a nutshell, they gave up the idea.

N.T. The date of departure was only two months off.

D.S. Yes, their backing down certainly complicated things. But there was stil another period of training ahead – on Dickson Island. And two other Canadians – Chris Holloway and Max Buxton – joined us there. They were physically fit and, even more importantly, eager to see it through. In my opinion, appreciation of the goal and the desire to achieve it are no less important than fitness. Perhaps even more so. And though their training was inadequate, we enrolled them on the team. It is true that we asked the Canadians to expand the expedition. Initia there were seven Soviet participants. then we decided we needed two more be on the safe side. Then something c ous happened. To settle the matter I in a call from the air personnel hotel Dickson Island to Alan McLaine, a Ca dian Foreign Ministry official. When

One more obstacle

h Pole is passed. Canada is the next goal *Photo by Dmitry Shparo*

aine answered it, I heard her say:
Mr Dixon wants to speak to you."
e mistook me, Shparo, for Dixon. At
time we knew very little about one
her and each other's countries.
.T. But everything was finally settled,
n't it?
.S. It was. And on March 3 we set out
our trek from Cape Arktichesky, the
hernmost tip of the Severnaya Zem-
group of islands. Foreign journalists
ved on Dickson Island, which was un-
cedented. We were bombarded by
ericans, Japanese and Canadians. Of
rse they felt like discoverers. We were
ainly pleased too. Making new con-
s is always good. Even the weather –
vere frost of minus 40 degrees Cen-
ade exacerbated by a cruel wind –
ld not dampen our spirits. They took
pshots and asked us questions. The
rview was accompanied by smiles
jokes. The atmosphere was sincere
friendly.
.T. Speaking of friendship, were there
manifestations of it during the trek?
.S. Yes, there were. The most difficult
nth was March. The thermometer
pped as low as minus 47 degrees and
as dark practically all the time. The
would briefly appear just over the
zon. We were familiar with these con-
ons, but our Canadian colleagues
en't. We naturally worried about
m, wondering whether or not they
uld hold out. They did, every one of
m. The only one who did not feel well
Laurie Dexter. His leg was bothering
. But we all gave him a hand.
ryone took a kilogramme from his knapsack. It was not much of a load for us, but it was a relief for him. We were all carrying 50 kilos each. After we arrived in Ottawa, a woman asked me where Tolya was. At first I didn't know which of the two Tolyas she meant. But when I learned she was a relative of Laurie, I was sure she wanted Tolya Fedyakov. He helped Laurie all the time. When I introduced Fedyakov to her, she expressed special gratitude to him. His help must have meant a lot to Laurie. I thought it natural to give help to someone who needed it, and had forgotten all about it.

In April, Max Buxton had a bit of bad luck: his toes were frostbitten. To start with, he didn't notice it, but later, when the pain was bad, he limped heavily. I contacted the Institute of Medico-Biological Problems at the U.S.S.R. Ministry for Public Health. A special consultancy centre was set up there for our team. When Misha Malakhov, a boy from Ryazan who was our physician, reported Max's ailment to the centre, they replied that Max would have to be evacuated. This was a painful blow to all of us. We wanted our entire expediton to reach our destination without losses. And now we had an emergency situation on our hands which required a member of the team to be evacuated. But this wasn't the only thing that caused disappointment. We all liked Max. He is so genial, kind and gifted. His Russian was the best, perhaps because he had a perfect ear. When our spirits flagged, it was he who would fortify our morale by playing the mouth organ. Having weighed all the circumstances carefully, we decided he would carry on. As a physician, he fully realized the risks involved.

N.T. What was your attitude to the three other expeditions – Austrian, American and British – heading for the North Pole?

D.S. As athletes we could not help being excited about it. We wondered whether we would be the first to make it. However, on the other hand we were concerned about them. We wondered whether they were all right. You know, Arctic explorers form a special caste, with an ethic of their own. They understand each other. Though they were our competitors, we could not help worrying about them. We knew the British team. When they set out on their expedition we sent them our good wishes. Unfortunately, before long these expeditions had to give up their objective.

N.T. When you finally reached the North Pole, our magazine gave an account of the ceremony there. You made a halt which lasted several days. Did it affect you psychologically and physically?

D.S. During the halt, we could not afford to relax for a single moment. We were worried about the loss of time. First we waited for the Soviet plane and then for the Canadian plane. We had to wait four days, whereas the ceremony took only one day. After that we needed a rest because we had to traverse a difficult route. Psychologically we experienced conflicting sensations. We had reached the North Pole and were celebrating the achievement. But then we knew we still had to cover a lot more kilometres, as we had only travelled half the route. So the ceremony was more of a celebration for our guests than for the team.

N.T. Which part of the route was the most difficult for you?

D.S. I would say the first. The knapsacks were heavier and the cold was more cruel. When the sun shines, you feel warmer and it's easier to make headway. And the drain on your energy is less painful. However, after we had passed the North Pole, we had quite a few unpleasant experiences. The main source of anxiety was the thin, crushed ice that gave under your weight. Then there were pools of open water. It was vital that we finish our journey by the end of May or at least the beginning of June. In June the danger

of big water expanses appearing mounted.

To be perfectly honest, the wind that cracked the ice made my flesh creep. We would frequently plunge into fog. It was like a horror film. But when we saw the high cliffs of the Canadian coastline, we all appreciated their beauty.

N.T. Shortly before you set out on the expedition, you wrote that perhaps the greatest difficulties on the trek would be psychological. And indeed, in the course of those 91 days you had to pass the test of psychological compatibility. You differed not only in character, but also in way of life, attitudes and habits.

D.S. Yes, in ordinary life there are many little things that allay your troubles. But on an expedition the team is an isolated world in itself. Were there any quarrels? Of course there were. However, we had fewer clashes with the Canadians than amongst ourselves. The main cause of our "internal differences" was our different attitude to the Canadians. We took different views of their problems and wishes. Many of us thought some of their requests were no more than whims and that we should not indulge their fancies. I maintained that the Canadians, being fewer in number, felt less confident and less comfortable than we did. Therefore the trek was harder on them than on us. And of course they were fed up with the foreign language ringing in their ears all the time. I was sure that the only way to save the situation was to treat them kindly. Unfortuantely, not all of us realized that this was the only way not only to remain friends, but also to survive.

N.T. What was it that provoked quarrels?

D.S. When people are tired they get touchy. And when they are touchy anything can precipitate a conflict. The Canadians asked us to reduce the salt in the food by two thirds. We agreed. But then they suddenly proposed giving up salt altogether. When the diet was discussed, every member of the team agreed to it. If we had acted "on principle," a conflict would have broken out. We agreed to these proposals, although some of us regarded them as caprice. But the boys were honest, sincere, diligent and eager to do their best for the common success. Our policy was to make concessions to those who had it harder. I think this is valid in general and not only for a trek.

I don't want to overstate things. It would be an exaggeration to call the team a family. Neither the Canadians nor ourselves were free of propaganda prejudices, and it was not at all easy to shed them. And the nervous strain was tremendous. When we returned home to Moscow we were hopelessly exhausted and thoroughly tired of one another. I think the Canadians felt the same as we did.

N.T. We realize it was very tough on you. Despite this, your trek was a trek. A dash across the Arctic wilderness via the North Pole, if we may say so. And you are at the focus of attention. Some people spend years in the Arctic. You too have spent some time at drifting stations. You have seen people working under very difficult conditions indeed. What is your opnion of Soviet polar explorers?

D.S. As a rule, they are wonderful people. They are real heroes. The natural conditions are extremely harsh, of course. It is difficult to reach these stations because they drift a long way from the coast. Of course, in an emergency help will come. But only in an emergency, and not very quickly. I think the attention paid to the working conditions of personnel on ice-floe stations is still inadequate. And this is unacceptable. I refer not only to their earnings, but also to the consideration extended to them. Our team, I would say, sometimes got more consideration than we deserved. And for the staffs of the polar stations, the attention paid to them is inadequate. Now take station SP-27, with its staff of 12 people, whom we visited in March 1986. The last time they had had their mail delivered was in December of the preceding year. They have nothing to fill their leisure with. When I learned about the films they had I was dumb struck. We had forgotten all of them. They lack equipment and what they have is of low quality. When I visited a similar Canadian station, the comparison was not in our favour.

N.T. Comparisons can be drawn when you have something to compare. You are an explorer. What is it that attracts you in the North? The spirit of romance?

D.S. I would think I am more of a rationalist than a romantic. But evidently rationalism and romanticism are interconnected in some unknown way. I am certain that none of us would trek to the North Pole again out of sheer romanticism. Every undertaking of this kind requires a long period of training. It is a terrific drain on your strength, time and health.

We believed that every journey should be a noticeable step forward, as compared with the preceding one. Since 1972 all our expeditions across ice floes have formed a logical series of increasingly complicated journeys. Our recent trek, which linked two continents, was a sort of finale. As far as I am personally concerned, the main achievement of our trek is not the setting of a record or the scientific findings we have obtained for our medical and other research institutes, but the contribution to the cultural heritage of our civilization. Though it may sound conceited, it is our conviction that the history of the world has recorded another human achievement.

N.T. As far as we know, the Canadians welcomed your proposal for a joint expedition. But there were financial difficulties, weren't there?

D.S. At one stage we thought we would not make it, because in addition to Canadian athletes we had to find Canadia sponsors too. McDonald's System, Inc saved the situation. The organization' president gave me a cheque for 25,00 dollars at the editorial office of Kom somolskaya Pravda, which organized th expedition together with the Internation Youth Travel Bureau Sputnik. We im mediately handed over the cheque to ou Canadian colleagues. We also got sup port from Arnold Reichmann, president o the Olympia and York Company and on of the richest men in North America. H even flew to the North Pole. Addressin the rally, he said that he had not given th money for the sake of publicity, but be cause he was eager to support the effort of the Soviet leader Gorbachev.

As far as the Soviet side is concerned we were backed by the Integral Manufac turing Association, the Elektronik Commercial Publicity Association, th Krasnaya Zarya perfume factory an others.

N.T. After your first journey to the Nort Pole, Molodaya Gvardia Publishers pu out the book you wrote with Alexande Shumilov, "To the Pole!" Are you writin anything now?

D.S. We are. We hope Molodaya Gvar dia Publishers will put out another bool of ours, but this time jointly with a Cana dian publishing house. In it I wish to dea not just with our expedition and not jus with perestroika in the U.S.S.R. I wan also to look at the perestroika which, I an sure, is occurring in Canada. What I mean is the changes that are taking place in the minds of the people and their attitudes to us Soviets. When the Canadians first me us, they were a bit constrained and suspi cious. There isn't a trace of that now They now know that we are human be ings just like them.

On April 27 we were on the North Pole. On that day my son Matvei celebrated his thirteenth birthday. I managed to put a call through to him to wish him many happy returns. When I got to Ottawa I received a letter from Matvei. He wrote that my call had given him a real thrill. In the Canadian capital I met Laurie Dexter's two kids who had arrived with their mother from the other end of the country to greet him. Laurie, a clergyman, carved the names of his wife and children on the pair of Soviet skis on which he had covered the route from the U.S.S.R. to Canada. Of course, all of us are giving thought to our kids' future. We wish them peace and happiness. I am sure that the ski track Laurie and the twelve other members of the expedition blazed has brought our countries closer together. Much closer together. And this is important to the entire planet.

Interviewers
Veronica Khilchevskaya
and Tatiana Chernova

The London National Gallery collection of masterpieces now showing at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow is its first extensive exhibition of 38 West European Old Masters ever taken abroad. Incidentally, the British banker Angerstein bequeathed the 38 pictures that formed the nucleus of the National Gallery when it was founded in 1824. In the 160-odd years since then the Gallery has become a panorama of world classical painting of all schools and periods.

Italian painting is represented by Titian, Tintoretto, Caravaggio, and Andrea del Sarto. As heirs to ancient classical culture they celebrated the human being, and the integrity of the individual.

And on the other hand, Rembrandt engaged in probing psychological characterization in a manner suffused with immediacy and feeling. At the centre of the Pushkin Museum exhibition are his "Self-Portrait," together with the portraits of the two women he loved. "Saskia van Ulenburch," which, radiating the golden sunny charm of youth, was painted when the artist stood at the zenith of his fortune and happiness, and the "Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels," who shared the ageing master's humiliating impoverishment in the evening of his life.

Rembrandt. **"Self-Portrait"**

Goya. **"Doña Isabel Cobos de Porcel"**

Velazquez. **"Christ in the House of Martha and Mary"**

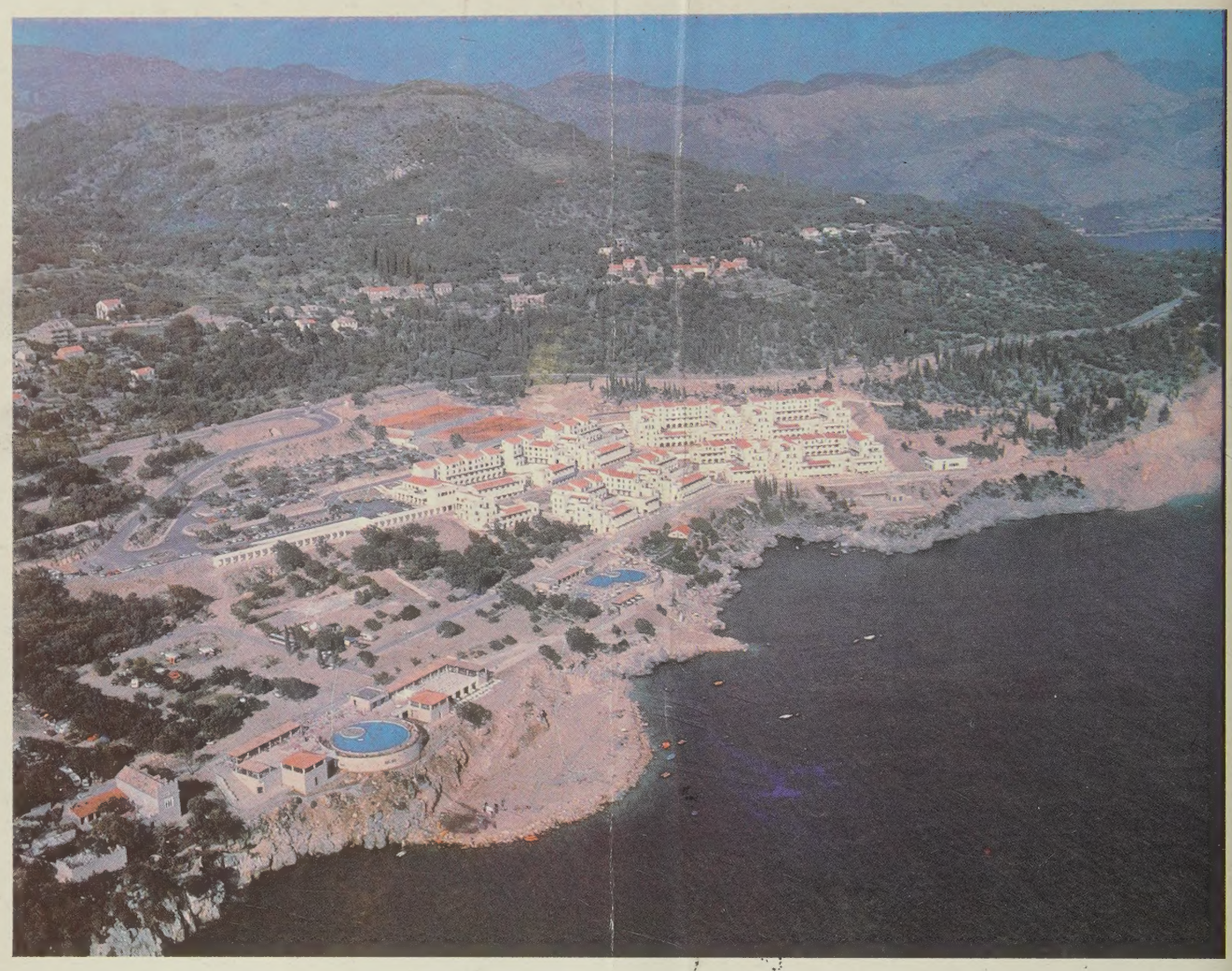
The two highpoints of Spanish painting are Velazquez and Goya. The former's "Christ in the House of Martha and Mary," a popular genre episode from Scripture, was executed when the painter was only 20.

"Doña Isabel Cobos de Porcel," one of the finest in Goya's gallery of female portraits, depicts a Spanish girl dressed as a Maja; her sparkling black eyes looking out from her tender face and the black lace mantilla, covering her proudly held head seem to epitomize the sitter's audacious beauty.

The English school is represented by Hogarth's "Marriage à la Mode" pictures, the charming "Shrimp Girl," the romantic landscapes of Constable and Turner, and Gainsborough's celebrated "Mrs Siddons" famous for her Shakespearean roles. Although presented as the Muse of Tragedy enthroned amidst allegorical figures, this is no cold salon portrait. The painter has shown her delicate, nervous face without embellishment, immortalizing the actress's proud, truly English profile.

The French section introduces us to Chardin, Manet, and finally, the lush tropical scenery of the great primitive painter Le Douanier Rousseau.

Alla Gracheva



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